THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Editor : R. PALME DUTT

Volume 18 October, 1936 Number 10

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THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

VOLUME 18 OCTOBER, 1936 NUMBER 10

Editor: R. PALME DUTT

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NOTES OF THE MONTH

To the Delegates of the Labour Party Conference at Edinburgh

COMRADES !

IN the present critical period of the post-war Labour movement we would earnestly beg every delegate and every delegation to the Edinburgh Labour Party Conference to throw aside all prejudices, shibboleths or stale refuse of past controversies, and to consider frankly and seriously the realities of the present situation which we have all, whatever our views, to whatever wing we may belong, to meet in common.

WHAT are these realities ? Even while the Conference is meeting, the guns of Fascism are sounding in Spain—in Western Europe, no longer only in Eastern or Central Europe. The Spanish people, deprived of arms by the action of the Western democracies, is having to fight for life against the bloody assault of black reaction, armed and equipped by foreign Fascism. Neither electoral victory, nor lawful right, but armed struggle is arbiter. The old controversies of armed struggle and civil war are silenced and answered by reality. The British Labour Movement, whose leaders once preached the gospel of no civil war, is now sending its greetings and heartfelt wishes to the Spanish working masses for victory in civil war. But greetings and wishes alone will not deflect a single Fascist bullet. New and sterner questions to-day replace the old : not whether civil war is necessary, but how to win the civil war, which is recognised by all as a common fight of the international working class. The question of arms for civil war dominated the proceedings of the Plymouth Trades Union Congress. It will recur in sharper form for the Edinburgh Labour Party Conference. That is a measure of the new situation in Europe to which we are reaching.

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WE need to face this new situation with open eyes. No one, right or left, can fail to recognise that the fight in Spain is part of an international fight between the popular forces and Fascism, which is reaching to ever greater sharpness on every front and in every country, and in which the future of the world is at stake. *How are we responding to this situation in the British Labour Movement? This question dominates every minor controversy and division.*

THE Edinburgh Conference is meeting amid the echoes of the Nazi Nurenberg Congress. There is no mistaking the meaning of that Congress, which is the open call to the holy war of European reaction against socialism and democracy. Those who see only the rhetorical froth of its outbursts misjudge the calculated purpose that lies behind the apparent insanity. The most powerful war machine of modern imperialism is being organised; and its guns are being trained against socialism, against the working class, and against every element of popular liberty in Europe. What was the significance of Nurenberg? It was not merely that Hitler repeated the aims of *Mein Kampf*, with his reference to "the incalculable wealth and stores of raw material of the Ural mountains, the vast forests of Siberia and the fertile plains of the Ukraine to be exploited under National Socialist leadership." Its significance was, first, that the Nazi war offensive was brought into the open, that any general settlement for Europe as a whole was explicitly repudiated, that the division of Europe into two halves was laid down as a diplomatic principle, thus refuting all those who endeavoured (like the *Daily Herald*, which has now had to admit the contrary facts) to place confidence in the previous "peace offers" for Western Europe as a step to a general peace.

BUT its significance went further. It was, secondly, and still more important, that the Nazi offensive was now proclaimed, not merely against socialism or "bolshevism," but equally against democracy in any European country, which was declared to be a régime of "disintegration"

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opening the way to the workers' power. "Bolshevism must be exterminated," declared Goebbels, "if Europe is to regain its normal health." But Hitler added:

> I have only one fear, and I say it quite openly, and that is that the countries around us will succumb one after another to the Red wave. *To that we could not remain indifferent.*

And again

> Democracy disintegrates the European States and renders them incapable of appreciating the danger from without.

And further

> Naturally we and Italy sympathise with the Nationalists because *we can only deal with countries organised on a national basis.*

"National" basis means fascist basis. What that means in practice is already being shown in a first foretaste in the armed intervention of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy in Spain.

WHAT is the situation? It is evident that a world struggle is developing whose decision will govern the future of all of us and of all that we stand for. The Fascist offensive dominates the world situation to-day. It is raising ever more closely the menace of wholesale aggressive war. Fascism is advancing with ever greater recklessness, cynicism and audacity. But why is it advancing? It is not advancing because of its superior strength. *Fascism is advancing because of the still continuing division and disorganisation of the popular forces.* This was shown already in Hitler's coming to power three years ago. It was shown again over the Italian launching of war on Abyssinia a year ago. It is being shown yet again in the still graver issue of Spain to-day. Had the German workers combined against Hitler, Hitler would never have come to power. Had united working-class pressure compelled full economic sanctions, including of oil, to be operated from the outset against Italy, Italy would never have carried through its bandit raid on Abyssinia. To-day the Fascist Powers are pouring in arms, aeroplanes, oil, poison gas, material supplies, pilots, officers, in defiance of international law, to secure the victory of Fascism against the Spanish nation and secure a further base for the extension of their offensive

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next to France. The democracies, with international law on their side, stand by paralysed by their own decision, by a self-imposed blockade, when their action could end the struggle in a week. So long as this paralysis of the popular forces continues, the fascist offensive will inevitably grow with ever widening sweep to an ever more menacing outcome. ***But the key to this situation lies in Britain.***

BRITAIN—we must plainly recognise—is the weak spot to-day in the international front against Fascism. Turn to every issue of international politics for the past five years. Behind each step of advance of the Fascist offensive will be found the policy of the National Government, from the original support of the Japanese raid on Manchuria in its early stages to the diplomatic, moral and material support of Hitler's rearmament, violation of treaties and expansion plans, and the open sabotage of collective security. Turn to every issue of the international labour movement during the same period and the questions of the front against Fascism. Behind every decision of opposition to unity and consequent disorganisation of the front against Fascism, even when the majority of the Second International is openly for unity, stands the present dominant leadership of the British Labour Movement. This is the situation which underlies the advance of the fascist offensive to its present menacing proportions. This situation throws a terrible responsibility on every one of us in Britain. *This is the situation we must fight to transform at the Edinburgh Labour Party Conference.*

THE forces are gathering for the struggle. The fascist war offensive is open and unconcealed. The Soviet Union is straining every nerve, alike in armed preparation for the defence of socialism against the assault of fascism, and to mobilise the front for peace throughout the world. In country after country working-class unity is being achieved, and the People's Front is being built up. In France and in Spain, as every observer is compelled to recognise, as the Chairman of the Trades Union Congress equally recognised,

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only the People's Front is saving the situation and holding back the further advance of Fascism. They are doing their part to the utmost of their power. But what of us? What of the position in Britain?

WHAT must we say of the position in Britain in relation to this gathering world situation? *Alone among the leading countries of Europe outside fascist dictatorship, in Britain reaction holds the reins and is able to play into the hands of Fascism, unchecked by the working class, or the popular movement.* There is no united working-class front. There is no People's Front. The National Government holds power and acts in practice as the covert ally of Fascism. The Labour Party, shackled by its existing doctrinaire basis of exclusions and heresy-hunting inherited from MacDonald, torn by divisions and confusions of policy and leadership, resulting in vacillation and inaction, without a clear straight programme of fight against the National Government to win the widest mass support, is unable to rally the majority of the population to defeat the National Government. Yet that that majority can be won was partially indicated by the Peace Ballot. The National Government continues to hold power, not by its own strength or popularity, but by the existing weakness of the Labour Party. The response to the Communist Party's campaigns on Spain, for the National March, or for unity, has shown what could be achieved if the entire force of the Labour Movement were mobilised for such campaigns. The path to the defeat of the National Government lies through working class unity and the People's Front. The question of the People's Front in Britain is now one of the key questions of the international situation.

IF this line is not followed, if the People's Front is not realised in Britain, then the logic of the other line, of the line of division, will inevitably lead to capitulation to Fascism—in the first place, in the form of capitulation to the National Government. *And this logic is already beginning to reveal itself in its deadly working out in the preparations for*

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the Edinburgh Labour Party Conference. The same Right grouping of the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress leadership which has consistently opposed working-class unity, nationally and internationally, and thus assisted the growth of the fascist offensive, is now moving openly towards co-operation with the National Government in support of its rearmament programme, supposedly in opposition to the fascist offensive. The same logic which dogged German Social Democracy is revealing itself once anew. The line of disunity leads to defeatism, to capitulation.

HOW far this line has already developed will be further revealed at the Edinburgh Conference. But already the speeches of Bevin and Citrine at the Trades Union Congress are ominous signs. The attempt is being made to prepare the ground for such a collaboration. The Nazi war offensive, whose reality and urgency can no longer be denied, which can no longer be covered by conciliatory expressions of faith and confidence in Hitler or demands for "justice" to Nazi Germany, is now being utilised the other way round, but in fact to cover the same basic policy of collaboration with the National Government, this time in the field of rearmament. It is here that the Edinburgh Labour Party Conference will need to be on guard.

THERE are in fact two lines and only two lines before the Labour Movement in the present critical situation. One line, the Right line, the line which has consistently opposed working-class unity and the unity of the people's front against Fascism, and which has thereby assisted the advance of Fascism to its present point, is now reaching its inevitable logical outcome. Faced with the reality of the fascist war offensive, which is equally recognised by all, it can find no solution save to retreat to unity with the National Government and to what in practice finally becomes unconditional support of its rearmament programme, supposedly "in defence of democracy." This line is manifestly the line of suicide and surrender to Fascism. For the National Government, so far

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from being the enemy of Fascism, has continuously proved itself its covert ally ; and it is not least doing so in its latest moves to resume negotiations for the isolationist Western Pact, even after Nurenberg, and to exert every pressure to annul the Franco-Soviet Pact. The key to the advance of the fascist offensive in the present period lies in the policy of the National Government and the failure to build a popular front in Britain to defeat it. To place arms in the hands of the National Government is to place arms in the hands of Fascism.

BUT the alternative to this policy—which will equip itself with a hundred arguments from the indubitable reality of the fascist offensive that the policy of capitulation has in fact helped to create—*cannot be a mere negative.* The alternative is and can only be the policy of Unity—unity of the working class and popular front in Britain to defeat the National Government and its support of Fascism, unity with the People's Front in France and Spain, unity with the Soviet Union, to build the unshakable front of popular forces on a world scale which can alone hold in check the fascist offensive and prepare the conditions for working-class advance. These two lines are in fact the only positive alternatives before the Labour Movement at the present historical stage. One or the other ; and the choice is heavy with consequences. This is the real issue before the Edinburgh Labour Party Conference. Every detail question can only be judged in the light of this central issue. And it is in the light of this central struggle that the question of Communist affiliation needs to be judged, and not in terms of obsolete remnants of old controversies which have no bearing on present realities.

IN the face of the burning realities and needs of the present situation the demand for Unity is sweeping through the British Labour Movement. It is bursting through at a hundred points. It is breaking down old barriers. It is creating new alignments and processes also within the leadership. A widespread discussion has developed without parallel for a decade. In the official quarters opposed to unity a barrage of

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propaganda has been let loose of such a ceaseless daily intensity as to shatter beyond repair its own arguments of the insignificance of the Communist Party and its sympathisers, the supporters of unity. It is a matter for congratulation that such a discussion has developed, that the issue has forced itself through every barrier to the foremost place. Nevertheless, it must be said that a great part of the discussion, as conducted in the official propaganda, has been below the level of the issues, in some cases, small, petty or frivolous in character, and, even where putting forward political arguments, depending on echoes of the old MacDonaldite controversies, as if blind to the serious present urgencies we have all to face.

THE old abstract controversies of democracy or dictatorship, as they used to be presented by a Kautsky or a MacDonald—with echoes still lingering in quarters blind to present realities—are dead lumber. History has given them the answer. Fascism trains its guns equally on the workers' dictatorship and on the most elementary forms of democracy which still leave any possibility of working-class political activity. Democracy in its turn is compelled in self-defence to arm the proletariat, to lean on workers' and peasants' militias, and to resort to measures of dictatorship. With this the old abstract controversies are dissolved in the fires of history. The truth of Lenin's contention is a hundred times confirmed that the real issue can only be judged in terms of the concrete class content of the political struggle at every point, in the actual form and stage of the class struggle, and never in terms of abstract schoolbook juridical formulas. Because the workers in the bourgeois democratic countries in Central and Western Europe after the war were not yet ready to advance beyond that stage to crush the exploiters, and thereby to advance to true democracy or workers' democracy, therefore the exploiters now turn to destroy even the elementary forms of democracy in order to crush completely the working-class movement. But thereby the immediate issue of the struggle becomes the fight for the elementary democratic forms against the assault of fascism, and this becomes the key to further advance. In this

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battle all the workers, Communists, Socialists, trade unionists, anarchists and liberal workers can unite, can draw to their unity the liberal democratic sections of the intermediate strata, and can thus prepare the conditions for future decisive advance against the forces of finance-capital. Such is the developing logic of the class struggle at the present stage. To ask whether the Communists are "sincere" in defending democracy at the present stage, or whether it is a "manœuvre," is political illiteracy. The rôle of Communism is to understand the historical movement of the struggle at every stage and to fight in the front ranks.

A PROFOUND transformation is developing in the British Labour Movement. The battle for unity will go forward to victory, because the inescapable necessity of the struggle ever more powerfully compels it. But the question of how soon is of decisive importance for the course of events. Hence the responsibility of the delegates to the Edinburgh Labour Party Conference. The demand of the working class for unity, the demand of wide sections for a People's Front to defeat the National Government, is knocking at the doors of the Edinburgh Labour Party Conference. Many among all sections are hearing that demand. The former central *bloc* of leadership is revealed as no solid *bloc*, but is going through a process of differentiation: witness the divisions already developed on Spain and neutrality, on armaments and also on unity. The call for unity of all sections against Fascism is winning echoes in many quarters, notably also in the speech of the Chairman of the Trades Union Congress, even though the practical conclusions are not yet drawn. But the practical conclusions must be drawn. We need to build the People's Front in Britain around the basis of working-class unity. We need to defeat the National Government. To carry forward this fight is the great opportunity, and the great responsibility, which faces the delegates to the Edinburgh Labour Party Conference.

R. P. D.

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BEFORE THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

By WILL LAWTHER, M.P.

[*This article by Will Lawther, M.P., Vice-President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and Secretary of the Durham Miners' Association, concludes the series of contributions on Problems of Labour Policy which have been proceeding in the columns of the* LABOUR MONTHLY *since the commencement of this year. For a full list of previous contributions see page* 599. *The issues raised by this series are also treated in R.P.D.'s Notes of the Month, specially addressed to the delegates to the Labour Party Conference at Edinburgh.*]

THE decision of the Miners' Federation to support the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party at the latter's Annual Conference this month has aroused great interest on all sides.

What has led up to this momentous decision of the Miners? This decision is the outcome of the whole experience of the miners in recent years and their sense of the urgent necessity of unity in every field of the working class struggle.

The miners have been coming to realise that over the past few years both the owners and the National Government have been using the economic depression to chain the miners down even more effectually than ever before. The stubborn refusal by the owners to consider any sort of national negotiation, the low-down meanness of their response to the miners' demand for an all round 2s. advance last winter, coupled as it was by the obvious attempt to create antagonism towards them amongst other workers by their immediate passing on of these niggardly concessions in increased prices to the consumer—these facts have convinced the miners of the Government's complicity with the owners in this policy, a policy which can only be dubbed one of deliberate degradation.

Parallel to this we have to record the open support that the owners have been giving to the so-called non-political type of union, particularly in Nottinghamshire and South Wales. Readers of the MONTHLY will remember the realistic description that was given in an article* a few months ago of these activities of the near-fascist type of union

*By W. L. Ellis entitled "The Miners' Struggle in Notts" in the January issue this year.

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in the Notts coalfield, and of the intimidation which it gave rise to there. Now recently comes the open fight which the South Wales miners have been waging as shown by the Bedwas miners' struggle in relation to which the whole coalfield is uniting, if necessary with strike action, to stamp out non-unionism in South Wales.

Then we have the sickening increase in terrible accidents in both new and old pits all over the country, due in the last analysis both to the inhuman speeding up and to the increase in technical rationalisation such as the widespread installation of electric coal-cutting machinery. Many remedies could be suggested for lessening the shot-firing accidents, but are discounted because they may cost a penny per ton more. Economy before safety. Gresford and now Wharncliffe are the signs that human endurance and human ingenuity must needs break down at some point with ghastly results in suffering to all, when driven by the owners' insatiable hunger to unload the whole effect of the depression on to the miners' shoulders.

The miners' experience proves that the owners will stop at nothing to try and prevent every district from uniting in a national struggle for improved conditions. But as is well known, though on paper the owners refused to recognise the Miners' Federation last winter when we demanded an all-round increase of 2s., nevertheless in fact the concessions that were wrung from them were simultaneous concessions, though differing in amount for every field. This was made possible by the united force of all our members behind the Federation, most materially assisted by the national campaign which the whole trade union movement carried on in our support.

But both miner and every other worker will agree that the concessions that were wrung from the owners were insignificant in comparison with the need, and that the present level of miners' wages remains disgraceful. Every trade unionist is equally convinced that the county federations are correct in carrying on an unconpromising struggle for the elimination of non-unionism or company unionism, and for 100 per cent. trade unionism in every field. Every trade unionist will also agree that the best way to achieve these demands of the miners, as indeed the demand of every section of the working class movement for improved conditions, is by united struggle. It is assuredly true that the force of last winter's campaign by the whole trade union movement for the miners' 2s. advance compelled the owners to retreat at least one step. A still greater and a more united campaign, it can well be understood, can lead to still greater advances on the part of the miners, and indeed of the whole working-class movement.

The recent victory achieved by the French workers in united action both on the economic and on the political field have created a deep impression here. The increase in membership which immediately followed

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the unity of the two trade union federations, and then the all-round economic concessions gained by the nation-wide strike movement following the victory of the Popular Front government, have demonstrated what can be done by united struggle. It can be said without fear of contradiction that it was only the increased strength of the elements of the Popular Front in the elections and the might of the masses reflected by these victories, which resulted in the formation of the present French government, that stemmed the tide of fascism which had previously been growing at a steadily increasing rate.

This Popular Front drew its strength from the United Front Pact both politically and industrially which the French Socialist Party and the French Communist Party had agreed upon in 1934. It was this decision in favour of united action for the immediate needs of the workers that led to the broader unity as exemplified by the Popular Front and to the amazing and inspiring victory at the polls and the economic victories which followed it.

Here in Britain we have lately been witnessing the beginning of an advance to unity especially in South Wales. It will be remembered that it was the united demonstrations in South Wales particularly that forced the Government to withdraw the unemployment regulations last year. Now behind the miners in their fight against non-unionism and company unionism, and in their growing protest against the new unemployment regulations are forming again the united forces which have already proved the inestimable value of common struggle.

The miners are realising that unity demands a vigorous policy. Here the suggestions in Arthur Horner's article in the May issue of the LABOUR MONTHLY for a further increase in wages, for shorter hours, and for 100 per cent. trade unionism are important. Safety, too, is a burning issue as the Gresford and Wharncliffe disasters have shown. In this connection the Durham Miners' Association is at the moment carrying on a wide campaign for the adoption of what they consider are basic conditions to ensure the minimum of safety. But safety in every industry with the present speed-up and the adoption of new processes and new types of machinery is also vital for every worker. To crown all a struggle for peace and to beat back the menace of fascism will get the support of every thinking worker. Now such a vigorous policy can only be carried on in common struggle.

The miners realise that the Communist Party has been foremost in pressing for the adoption of such a vigorous policy and in stressing the need for united action to carry out such a policy. In France we must not forget that unity was achieved at the insistence of the French Communist Party and that the Popular Front owes its inspiration to that Party.

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Here in Britain the Communist Party has indeed performed a service to the whole movement by its fight for unity.

Therefore, as a step to the advance of all those who believe in the preservation of those liberties and rights that the working class have gained in hard-fought struggles, and in fighting fascism with its threat to a new world war, and believing that the affiliation of the Communist Party would not only bring unity to the Labour Movement, but also that new vigour that comes from the realisation of united strength, the Miners are supporting the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party.

We have been given, as miners, an assurance that the Communist Party will conscientiously accept the Labour Party constitution, and work side by side in its fight.

[Previous contributions by *David Freeman* (late Labour Candidate for Portsmouth, C.), *R. F. St. J. Reade* (Westbury), *E. Shearer* (Aylesbury), and *Professor G. E. G. Catlin* (Sunderland), will be found in the February issue; *Prof. Harold J. Laski, John Lewis* (Great Yarmouth), *W. H. Bennett* (Dover), and *D. W. Flanagan* (Editor "Rotherhithe Labour News"), in the March issue; *R. McKinnon Wood* (Harborough), *T. D. Smith* (Member, first E.C. of N.C.L.C.), *John Morris* (Gen. Secretary, University Labour Federation), *Leonard Wells* and *R.P.D.* (in his Notes), in the April issue; *George Hicks, M.P.*, in the May issue; *Aneurin Bevan, M.P., Rev. Richard Lee* (West Wolverhampton), *Councillor A. E. Turpin* (N.E. Bethnal Green L.P.), *G. D. Miller* (late Chairman, Oxford University Labour Club), and *B. J. Chaplin* (Newport Labour League of Youth) in the June issue; *Councillor H. Eastwood* (Agent and Secretary, Bolton Labour Party), *Councillor R. Bland* (Nelson Borough Council), *Councillor G. Treacher* (Watford Borough Council), and *L. Franklyn-Vaile* (Chairman, Norwood Socialist League), in the July issue; *G. R. Strauss, M.P., L.C.C., Councillor Tom Regan* (Manchester), *J. C. Daniels* (Secretary, Durham University Labour Club), and *William Rust* in the August issue; *E. A. Gower*, Secretary, Exchange (Manchester) Divisional Labour Party and *Councillor George Hindle*, agent for Warrington Trades Council and Labour Party in the September issue. A copy of each of these issues can be obtained from THE LABOUR MONTHLY, 7 John Street, London, W.C.1, for 7d. post free.]

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THE SITUATION IN SPAIN

[*The following report by Senator Georg Branting, of Sweden, was made at an International Conference of the World Movement against War and Fascism on September 7-8 in Paris. The other members of the Delegation mentioned by Senator Branting, who went with him to Spain, were M. Hénaff, of the French C.G.T.; J. Duclos, French Communist Deputy for the Seine; and J. Zyromski, Secretary of the Seine District of the French Socialist Party.*]

By GEORG BRANTING

I DO not need to tell you the composition of the delegation with whom I went to Spain, and by which body it was sent. What I am going to do is to give you a short report about the observations I made during my trip, and some conclusions which I think should be drawn from it. It goes without saying that as a foreigner I have to consider the hospitality granted to me here in France, and it is also natural that I consider of serious importance the explanations of French foreign policy as given yesterday by Monsieur Leon Blum.

May I tell you first that our delegation was received by the President of the Spanish Republic, Señor Azaña, and several other leading personalities. On this occasion I think we can congratulate Spanish Democracy in having, at this critical period, such a well-balanced, powerful and experienced leader of its politics as Manuel Azaña. When one is speaking with this first representative of Spanish Democracy, when you begin to feel his central position in the actual situation, it strikes you as quite extraordinary that a certain part of the world press presents things from the viewpoint that Spanish democracy has fallen into the hands of undisciplined masses. I think it is useful to point out the rôle of Señor Azaña also, after the establishment of the new government in Spain. In fact it was he who wanted this enlargement and strengthening of the Spanish government.

The fact that the fall of Irun coincided in time with the establishment of the new government has generally created the impression that the new government was a direct consequence of this military defeat, and the government itself had to be regarded as the expression of a certain panic created by the fall of Irun. That is not at all the truth. The conversations between the different parties, with the view of creating this new government, had already started about one week before the fall of

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Irun. Our commission had an opportunity of following these conversations very closely. As you certainly know, there have been, for instance, certain differences between Prieto and Caballero, which had to be straightened out. There was the difficulty about bringing the Communist Party to take part in the Government. The task was also to create a government which should represent, as strongly and efficiently as possible, all parts of loyal Spain. All this could not be done in one day. I got the news of the definite establishment of the new government about two days after I had left Spain, but its composition was no surprise to me at all.

I personally think that the increase in strength effected by the establishment of this new government more than compensates for the inevitable, momentary, weakening of the loyal forces by the fall of Irun. A very important thing, too, is that by the creation of a government on a united political basis, the final establishment of a General Staff has been made possible. (Formerly, as you certainly know, there had been a regrettable lack in concentrated military leadership, Spanish democracy having been surprised by the fascist attacks, and being forced to improvise its own military defence).

About the every-day life, I think everybody living in Madrid or Barcelona will confirm the fact that perfect order is reigning in these cities. And one cannot help feeling that this order is quite self-imposed in everybody's interest, that this order has been created under the most difficult circumstances, by the people's own will for peace and justice. There is a lofty atmosphere of solidarity and comradeship, of conscientiously chosen discipline.

Everybody knows that the danger comes only from the other side, from the fascists ! They are acting either as individual murderers and spies inside the cities under the loyal government, or they are sending their aeroplanes from the outside, to bombard the unsheltered city of Madrid, attempting to spread death among the women and children. The fact that there remain hidden fascist elements inside the governmental cities makes it necessary to maintain certain militia forces inside the cities.

With regard to the bombardment from the air which was going on all the time I was in Madrid—without, however, any military successes being recorded at all—I want to limit my statement only to emphasising the fact that this bombardment—the first inflicted on a European capital since the great war—has been carried out by fascist forces ! By fascism, that has constituted itself the enemy of the people. In defence against this fascist eruption, practically the whole of the Spanish population has rallied or is prepared to rally. In the face of such a danger, the people themselves have now to mobilise their utmost resources. And for this

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purpose, I think, new ways have been opened up by the formation of the new government.

If you look at what is going on in Spain in the light of the development of a social change, remember that fascism had managed to put into action not only most of the army officers, but also the largest part of the higher bureaucracy and of the civil servants. When this fascism has been beaten or forced to retreat, it is quite obvious that a certain part of the old forms of state will have to become a thing of the past ; therefore it has been necessary for Spanish democracy, in its defence against fascism, to improvise, at the same time and in more than one sphere, an entirely new order. I want to emphasise strongly that it was the fascist elements who, in their fall, dragged with them part of the previous social régime ; it was they, therefore, who destroyed the old régime in Spain.

I should like to give you some concrete examples of the change in the social order. As a Swedish social-democrat, I want to say that I cannot really feel alarmed when I see, for instance, that the control of the railways, municipal communications, and the electrical power stations, has been transferred from private to public administration. This is no more than what was done long ago in Sweden, which is, indeed, not generally looked upon as a country of Red Revolution.

Another example : As I told you, the every-day life in the cities is going on normally. All the stores, the cafés, etc., are open, and retail trade is going on as usual. Well, formerly it was the custom for small traders to obtain three months' credit from the wholesale dealers. In the first days of the civil war the wholesale dealers tried to refuse this credit to their clients. But the government intervened, so that now the small traders are still getting their three months' credit, as before. The requisitioning of big palaces and houses belonging to fascist persons of importance, which has been so much talked about, has evidently been carried through only for the benefit of national defence, *i.e.*, these buildings have been transformed into hospitals, barracks for the militia, repair-shops, etc. I personally cannot see anything unnatural or alarming in this, under the present circumstances. Art collections, collections of paintings, etc., are under constant governmental protection and guarded by special militia detachments, as I have seen myself.

Now I am coming to the question of how we can play our part to help the fight of Spanish Democracy for victory. After seeing what I have seen in Spain, I cannot help being very painfully impressed by the fact that a big democratic people is left without the material possibility of quickly suppressing the illegal rebellion. It is very difficult to understand this policy. There is no doubt that the Spanish people have at their disposal no other military equipment but that which the rebels

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have left them ; their arsenals are by no means superior to the armament stores of the generals. Otherwise, it is a sure fact that fascism would have been swept out long ago. But imagine a racket of gangsters, swooping down on a peaceful village, which has no means of defence, and murdering unmercifully all those who try to disarm them. In just this same way, the peaceful, poorly armed Spanish Democracy is having to endure the aggression of the fascist hordes, who are provided with all the deadly machinery of modern warfare, who are terrorising this land, and spreading over it all the misery of civil war.

In all parts of the world, where we are upholding principles of law, order and civilisation, we have to realise all the consequences which will ensue. I do not want to go into details here concerning the political consequences which a possible fascist victory in Spain would have for the other countries. But in the actual policy towards Spain, Europe seems to-day to have proclaimed a new right : the right to uproar. And only think of it ! This uproar is no uprising of the poor, caused by hunger and despair, but a rebellion of a handful of the privileged against modern legal democracy. Thus, the democratic states seem to have been forced to adopt a policy which acknowledges the right of the fascists to cause an uproar. Thus, the development of the power of the fascist states has forced the democracies into passivity so anxious are the latter to avoid the outbreak of war.

I do not want to raise here the question of the armaments embargo. But I want to suggest other means of helping the Spanish Republic. I think there are two points to start from : the first is that there does not exist a general blockade against Spain, *i.e.*, that general trade is allowed to go on normally. The second point is that Spain, the country we want to help, has at its disposal the enormous creative forces of the working class. Thus we can utilise this fact to organise the import into Spain of all sorts of raw material, machines, etc., which would enable the Spanish people to produce for themselves as quickly as possible, all the necessary materials for their defence. I am not in a position to give you here an exact list of what materials, etc., they need, but what I can say generally is that they need the means of production in the form of machinery, experienced workers to handle these machines, and various kinds of raw materials, for instance, copper. I think in the general struggle between socialism and fascism, it is the correct principle to make use of the fact that the living forces of creative labour are only on one side. Thus, in the present situation in Spain, a considerable advantage can be gained over the enemy who, lacking labour forces, have to buy their armaments and equipment from abroad by illegal means. Of course, it should be remembered that the development of the production of war materials on these lines inside the loyal part of Spain will take a

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considerable time. But on the other hand, I think that the civil war in Spain will also continue for a considerable time yet, in spite of the fact that the rebels are constantly getting war materials from outside. I believe it is impossible in a short space of time for any party to win a civil war without having the necessary social basis.

Another way of rendering help is, for instance, to send warm clothing to help the militia to withstand the cold of the coming winter in the fight which is taking place in the mountains. This was the recent passionate appeal I heard from Margarita Nelken. Send clothing !

Another means to help the Spanish Government is to procure them adequate means for spreading the truth about the events in Spain, and to enable them to counteract the lies and falsities constantly reported by the world press.

Another important thing is to mobilise the working class of the whole world, and especially the transport workers on land and sea, and to urge them to observe the utmost vigilance concerning the carrying through of the embargo of arms imported to the rebels of Spain.

I want to finish this short report of my visit to Spain with an expression of my confidence in the final victory of the Spanish people. The Spanish people are developing such great heroism, such strong creative forces of their own, that they are constantly raising the organisational level of their fight for freedom. There is such an absolute and unshakable determination not to " let them pass," that, for me, it is inconceivable to admit the possibility of a victory of small fascist groups against the whole, freedom-loving, Spanish people.

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THE RESULTS OF THE PLYMOUTH CONGRESS

By ARTHUR HORNER

PERHAPS the clearest estimate of the Plymouth Trades Union Congress will be arrived at if one seeks to answer the question: "what did it decide to do in relation to the great problems before the Labour Movement?" There is, I am afraid, only one answer. It collapsed miserably in face of the problems and decided to do nothing at all.

Consider the questions that it ran away from. There was the whole question of the fight against the new Unemployed Regulations. The Congress decided to confine itself to public meetings. It was wrong, Citrine said, to coerce Parliament and therefore one must reject "industrial and other forms of action," including a National March. It was wrong to bring the King into politics, and therefore one must next Spring sit on Coronation Committees and co-operate with the very people who have cut the unemployment assistance allowances of the unemployed. It is not wrong for the people in the distressed areas to remain quiet in their misery. Indeed, the T.U.C. hopes they will do so until the next General Election.

Peace, War and Spain

In face of a dangerous war situation, the General Council through Mr. Bevin, told the Congress that Pacifism was not enough. What was enough would be decided by the new General Council and the Labour Party Executive at some future date. In the meantime Bevin warned the Fascist dictators from taking the democracies too cheaply but, as he did so in moving a resolution on Spain which involved capitulation to the Fascist dictators, we should be surprised if the latter are suitably impressed. I have read all the accounts of the debate on Spain and one is amazed at some of the arguments and tactics of the General Council. A delegation had gone from the National Joint Council of Labour to France to ascertain what the situation was there. And yet no single spokesman of the General Council referred to the decision of the French T.U.C. to ask the French Government to co-operate with the British Government in lifting the embargo on arms going to the legal Spanish Government. It was even possible for them to criticise the French Communist demand for lifting the embargo without mentioning even that the French T.U.C. was putting forward a similar demand. Then

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there was the curious argument of Citrine about the Naval Blockade. If one opposed the policy of "neutrality" and stood for lifting the embargo, argued Citrine, then one had at the same time to put an embargo on supplies going to the rebels. That meant a naval blockade which would be difficult to organise and if organised might lead to European war. Now it is precisely this argument that exposes the hollowness of the so-called neutrality agreement. For the neutrality agreement cannot be enforced without a naval blockade to prevent arms reaching the rebel ports and the rebels' ally, Portugal. There is no suggestion on the part of anyone advocating neutrality that such a blockade should be organised or that a League force should police the Portuguese frontier. Yet short of that no neutrality agreement could be enforced.

Those who advocated lifting the embargo did so in the recognition of the fact that arms were reaching the rebels and would continue to reach them even if the embargo was lifted. But the lifting of the embargo would enable the Government to wipe out its existing inferiority in munitions, whereas the so-called neutrality agreement blockades the Government while the rebels continue to get supplies through Portugal. Thus the Naval Blockade argument recoils on Citrine himself. Is it not crystal clear that the net contribution of the T.U.C. to helping their fellow trade unionists in Spain has been to take a collection of less than a penny per head per member and to support a neutrality agreement which puts an arms embargo on the Governments which are supported by the Spanish Trade Unionists, while arms pour in in a never-ending stream to the rebels. As this "neutrality" agreement would have been arrived at without T.U.C. support anyhow—perhaps we should simply write down their net effort at less than a 1d. per head per member.

The United Front

Judging from press reports an extraordinary atmosphere was created in the United Front debate. The whole question was discussed as an academic question isolated from the present serious world situation, from the war offensive of the Fascist powers; from the situation in Spain and from the rôle which our own National Government was playing in relation to the Fascist powers. Discussed in this way unity ceased to be regarded as a life and death question and became a question of whether the Communists were sincere or whether the United Front is simply another Communist trick. In seeking to get across the General Council's negative line Citrine resorted to some extraordinary arguments. He actually sought to prove that the struggle for the united front was merely an attempt of the Communists to organise more effectively than hitherto the splitting-up of the Labour movement. In proof of this he even went so far as to allege that the Communists in Great Britain had aimed at splitting the trade union movement and setting up Red Unions.

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He instanced the split in the Scottish Miners' Union and even hinted that the non-political unions were formed in imitation of the Red Unions of the Communists.

Now the fact is that the non-political union was formed in Notts and Derby in 1926. It was founded by George Spencer, a Labour Member of Parliament. It was assisted by a union affiliated to the T.U.C., the National Seamen's Union. (I am not alleging that any of the present officers of this Union favoured this policy.) The split in the Scottish Miners' Unions did not take place until the beginning of 1929. So Communist Red Unionism could hardly be the inspiration of Spencer non-political unionism.

There was no Communist policy of forming dual Unions. The split in Scotland arose through certain exceptional circumstances prevailing in that coalfield. Now that it is healed, there is no need to open old sores.

There has been a Communist policy—there is a Communist policy—of fighting for a militant trade union policy. In pursuit of that policy we have opposed policies of class co-operation such as the great Mondist policy of 1928, the co-operation of the T.U.C. with the central employers' federations, that was to bring such blessings to British trade unionism and which collapsed two years later amid falling wages and falling membership. But the Communist policy of militant trade unionism has not called for splits. It has always called for wider trade union unity on a democratic basis.

Equally grotesque were the allegations of Citrine about the united front on the Continent. It is absolutely necessary of course for the opponents of unity in Britain to misrepresent in every possible way the United Front on the Continent. For the same arguments can be brought against the Communist Parties on the Continent as are brought against the Communist Party of Great Britain—the arguments that they stand for dictatorship against democracy, that they are instruments of Moscow, that the united front will chase away the middle class. If it can be shown that the United Front has been formed in a number of countries, that it is not a Communist trick, that it has led not to dire results predicted, but to results of value to the working class, then all the objections of the Citrines and the Morrisons go by the board. And so Citrine hints, in passing, that the United Front does not exist to any extent outside France and to a lesser extent Spain.

Now this is simply not true. It exists in Austria, Italy, and the Baltic States. It exists in the Brussels district of Belgium and even the once deadly enemies, the Socialist and Communist Parties of Germany have issued a joint appeal. Last autumn a majority of the parties in the

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Labour and Socialist International were in favour of opening conversations with the Communist International with a view to united activity and they are unlikely to have receded from that in the interval. It is therefore the British labour movement that is abnormal in the sense that a united front is not yet established in this country. It is the British Labour movement which is part of the recalcitrant minority, which at this grave moment is resisting the formation of the international united front of the working class.

The argument of Citrine on the United Front in France was an attempt to deprecate the great achievements of that United Front. As compared with 1932 there was, alleged Citrine, only a turnover to the Left Parties of some 323,000 votes. At the same time the Party most to the right had gained 345,000 votes largely at the expense of other right Parties. Therefore, argued Citrine, the United Front was very largely a question of pooling the existing voting strength of the left Parties (which could be easier done under the French system of second ballots than it could be in Great Britain) and had not resulted in any substantial change in the relations of political forces in France.

But note the starting point of Citrine. The years 1932 marked a considerable swing to the left in French politics. Hitler had not yet come to power, French Fascism was insignificant. But in the year 1934 what a change there was. The Left Governments had—under the pressure of the banks—broken election promise after promise. The Left Parties were heavily discredited. There was a drift to the Fascists on the part of former radical supporters. The Communist and Socialist Parties were numerically weak, the trade unions had less than one million members. The building of the United Front and the People's Front changed all that. The drift to Fascism was arrested, the waverers were won back to the People's Front Parties and a General Election in a tense war situation (a situation objectively favourable to Fascism) registered a turnover of 323,000 votes above the high-water mark of 1932. When we consider the further changes brought about by the election—the great strike movement of the workers ; the mass of legislation put on the statute book ; the growth of trade union membership to four millions from less than a million—the attempts to deprecate the achievements of the United Front is clearly childish folly.

Having rejected the policy of the United Front, what is the prospect that the General Council holds up to the British working class ? Mr. Bevin was very illuminating on this. Speaking in the debate on the forty hour week he mentioned the possibility of a trade slump about the time of the next General Election in four years' time. We have to get a 40-hour week Bill prepared, said Mr. Bevin, so that the Labour Government could get to work on this problem when returned at this

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election. This, then, is the General Council's perspective. There must be no attempt to build a United Front or People's Front to speedily bring down the National Government. Let us " keep our heads " and act as a loyal opposition for the next four years.

But the next four years will be years of intensive struggle, years of developing war crisis—and the perspective of the General Council, while rejecting the United Front, is to move nearer to the National Government. It is clear that there is a move to give conditional or unconditional support to the Government arms programme. "We have got to defend democracy," is being heard on all sides.

But how are we going to defend democracy against Fascist attack. On the international field it should be clear that without the aid of the Soviet Union peace and democracy cannot be maintained and so Mr. Findlay talks about a mutual assistance pact between France, Britain and the Soviet Union—a pact under the League and open to all other countries who care to join.

But surely, it is absolutely clear that such a pact must be under-pinned by the national and international United Front of the working class. And the General Council of the T.U.C., together with the Labour Party Executive, are amongst the most strenuous opponents of such unity.

Further, the development of co-operation between France, Britain and the Soviet Union, demands the uniting of all the peace forces in Great Britain around the Labour Movement for intensified struggle against the National Government, which is opposing such co-operation. It is no use arguing that Britain as a democracy must defend itself, if the British Foreign Office is showing more sympathy with Nazi Germany than it is with France and the Soviet Union. But the General Council opposes a working-class unity, which would aim at the concentration of the forces of peace for a united drive against the National Government.

When we say that Britain is a democratic country, we are saying that the institutions of the country are democratic and they are democratic because the working class and the middle class have in the past wrested certain democratic rights from capitalism. We are not saying that the National Government is composed of democrats or has any intention of defending democracy. We are not saying that the guiding light of the ruling capitalist clique is " democracy " and not Imperialist interests. We must never forget that the ruling clique in Britain has up to this moment considered that its interests would best be served by support for Nazi Germany and the policy of a " free hand in the East."

Because a country has democratic institutions, that is not a guarantee that its ruling class are more prepared to co-operate with a Government supported by the Popular Front as in France, than they are prepared to do with Nazi Germany.

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The defence of democracy therefore involves the fight for a Government in Great Britain which will really co-operate with France and the Soviet Union, and that involves the development of the United Front and the People's Front. Oppose this policy of unity and you will gradually be drawn into supporting the present National Government on the ground that "democracy must be defended" at the very moment when the policy of this Government is undermining democracy in Europe. In short, opposition to the People's Front for peace leads step by step to the Government front for war.

The 40-Hour Week

The economic issues were somewhat overshadowed by foreign politics at the Congress, and some important questions such as the plan for the mining industry were dealt with only in a single speech.

On the question of the 40-hour week, a considerable number of resolutions were on the agenda, and here a paradoxical situation was revealed. When employment was much worse than it is to-day and the unions much weaker, the 40-hour week was regarded as one of the chief tasks of the Labour Movement. When trade is good and the workers are in a stronger position to bargain, the question is relegated by Mr. Bevin and the General Council to the next Labour Government—and the next trade depression.

Not all the delegates who spoke, however, were of this opinion. The Tailors' and Garment Workers' delegate, Mr. Martin, who seconded the resolution, moved by Bevin said that they ought to be discussing this question in the light of the fact that legislation for the 40-hour week had been passed in France and Belgium. He suggested a powerful national campaign, showing the effects of increased speed-up on the workers and the necessity for a reduction in hours in order to absorb the unemployed.

In the Trade Union discussion in the LABOUR MONTHLY, the importance of the 40-hour week was stressed by a number of writers. It is clear, however, that the trade unions will miss an opportunity in a million if they do not press for the 40-hour week in the present period of comparatively good trade. One of the resolutions passed asked the General Council to consult with the Executives of the Unions in order to discuss the best means of achieving the 40-hour week. In connection with this surely the General Council could discuss not only the organisation of a campaign, but could examine the possibilities of the leading trade unions placing the demand before the employers as the basis for negotiations? Until the demand is placed fair and square before the employers the forty hours' campaign will lack reality. Here is a line on which all leading militants should get busy in their respective unions.

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Non-Unionism

Another question of extreme importance is that of building up the trade union organisation and breaking the resistance of non-union employers.

There is no doubt that in many of the new industries advantage is being taken of the economic helplessness of women and youths, not only to overwork them to the most incredible degree, but also in the case of youth to rob them of the best years of their life by refusing them effective industrial training. On page 28 of the General Council's report, it says of the new industrial areas around London:

> Since the war a very large number of factories have been erected in this outer belt. These factories, being equipped with the most modern and up-to-date automatic machinery largely draw upon young people for their personnel. In a number of cases these young people are only employed up to the age of 18 and are then discharged to make way for children leaving school.

Two resolutions on the agenda of Congress dealt with this question. A resolution of the Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union called for a boycott of non-union employers. This is good as far as it goes, except that it is only applicable to employers selling consumption goods. It would exclude light engineering, one of the worst offenders in this regard.

Another resolution of the Glass, Sign and Ticket Writers, called for legislation enforcing the compulsory recognition of trade unions on the lines of the recent French legislation. This was withdrawn under the pressure of the General Council, who argued that the compulsory recognition of trade unions meant a step to the corporate state. Heaven knows why. It is not a proposal for compulsory arbitration, it is not a proposal to abolish the right to strike, it is simply a proposal which says that given the organisation of a certain percentage of workers in a union, the employer will be compelled by law to negotiate with that union. There may be difficulties of application, but surely the question is worth considering and is not to be dismissed by mutterings about the "corporate state."

A New Factory Act

A question closely allied to the above was that of a new Factory Act. The National Government have promised such an Act, but one must remember that the rearmament drive may give rise to a demand for the loosening of the present restrictions on the employers instead of the imposing of fresh restrictions. Nevertheless, a new Factory Act is necessary in order to defend the working class against undue exploitation. The Chief Factory Inspector has already suggested "that the hours of young persons should be substantially less than those permitted by existing legislation." It is clear also that the introduction of the conveyor system calls for regulation to ensure proper rest pauses for the workers.

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But without a proper publicity campaign, without continual trade union pressure on the employers, the new Factory Act promised for the last ten years is not likely to materialise. If the General Council, after consultation with the Executives of the Unions would supply the Trades Councils and local Labour Parties with appropriate publicity material, a strong campaign could be waged for this reform.

The Depressed Areas

A further question of extreme importance to the workers was that of the depressed areas. The resolution of the General and Municipal Workers, which was moved on this question, called for the initiation of work on land reclamation, the prevention of coast erosion and the construction of roads, bridges, etc. The resolution "deplores the failure of the Government to divert new industries to the distressed areas." This is the essence of the question.

Have we not reached a time when we must challenge the right of private enterprise to plant industry where it pleases, irrespective of wider social considerations? It is not access to raw materials or to markets which has determined the location of industry in the south of England recently. It is access to non-Union areas, access to low rates, attempts to avoid paying one's share of the cost of social services that has determined the location of industry in recent years. Has not the time come when we should demand that the State takes power to determine the location of new factories? This is by no means a simple question, but it is surely time we examined it in all its implications?

Then there are the new extractive industries dependent on coal, which are being developed—the oil-from-coal processes. The Government is considering the installation of oil-from-coal plants in the Special Areas. They are hopeful to be able to say something more definite in the near future, so we are told. This Government is always considering. It thinks in schemes which may or may not mature in the next generation. We must think of schemes which will be helpful in this generation.

Contrast the energetic drive of the Government in the development of its war plans with the miserable pettifogging approach of the Government in the depressed areas.

It is time that the whole process of extracting oil from coal was taken away from private monopolists and nationalised. It is not sensible, it is not economical for the Government to wait until private enterprise has developed this industry (with State subsidies) and then proceed to discuss whether it should be bought out. It is the business of the Government itself to develop this infant industry with the utmost possible rapidity, ensuring the location of the plants in the Special Areas.

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The time is clearly ripe for the trade union and Labour organisations in the Special Areas to come together, formulate a concrete programme of industrial development, and rally the people in those areas solidly behind them.

But what is the use of passing resolutions on the Special Areas if one rejects "industrial and other action" on behalf of the unemployed? What is the use if we accept the doctrine of Citrine that one must not "coerce Parliament?" Is there any chance of the existing Parliament doing anything special for the depressed areas if it is not coerced? To what else do we owe our existing social legislation if not to the coercion of Parliament?

Is it not clear that two opposite trends of opinion ran through the Congress? Those who wanted the United Front and a militant trade union policy on the lines recently discussed in the LABOUR MONTHLY, recognised the extreme urgency of the situation, the real menace of a Fascist war, and therefore they did all in their power to rouse the movement to the need for extraordinary united effort on all questions. Those who were against the United Front tried to minimise the danger ("Fascism is a remote danger in this country") and suggested that no united wage campaign was necessary, no unemployment march was necessary, no united front effort was necessary, in fact all that was necessary was to drift along and wait for a General Election in four years' time.

Surely every trade unionist can see that behind this General Council policy there is the refusal to believe that the working class can play any rôle in determining the great issues of peace and war; that the rôle that this policy marks out for the Labour Movement is that of a very junior partner in any enterprise the British Imperialists may determine upon and that the outcome of this policy can only be the betrayal of Peace and Democracy in Europe.

Plymouth was no triumph for the opponents of the United Front. It was their visible collapse in face of the great questions with which they were confronted. It will be a short-lived triumph for them for the great mass of the trade unionists are coming to realise that the issue is—"Unity or Death."

[*This article by Arthur Horner, President of the South Wales Miners' Federation, which was announced last month as a summing up of the discussion opened by him in the May issue of the* LABOUR MONTHLY *on "Problems of Trade Unionism in 1936," owing to the special importance of the Trades Union Congress has mainly been devoted to the issues of that Congress. In subsequent numbers the trade union questions raised in the discussion will be further treated.*]

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THE SOVIET TRIAL

By R. PAGE ARNOT

THE trial of the terrorists in Moscow, from the 19th to the 24th of August, came at a moment of a cross-roads in western Europe, and in the whole world. It was the moment when, for the first time, the fascist powers of Italy and Germany, together with Portugal, were making a concerted attack. Their object was the assassination of democracy in Spain, carried out through the extermination of masses of the Spanish people. The trial came at a moment that showed the wide, dangerous aims of fascism, striking both towards the west and towards the east. It displayed the resistance of the people of the Soviet Union to fascism precisely at the moment when this resistance in France and Britain was proving itself all too small for the crisis. The trial exhibited the historic law of revolution, of degeneracy amongst former participants, and showed that the greatest of revolutions in human history was accompanied by the lowest depths of degeneracy. The fact that the Soviet Government, with knowledge of the activities of the conspirators, nevertheless published and carried on the democratic discussion of the new Soviet Constitution reflected the Soviet Government during this trial in a very fine light. In short, *the trial of the Trotsky-Zinoviev centre in Moscow was a tremendous blow to fascism, a proof of the self-defensive power of Soviet democracy, and, in its procedure, an example to the whole world. The British Press treated it as the opposite of all these.*

With a unanimity and fury unexampled since the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, the entire press attacked Soviet justice and the Soviet Government, while the reformist leaders, with their organ, the *Daily Herald*, lashed up an anti-Soviet campaign that outdid the *Daily Mail*. The Tory and reactionary press, up till then engaged in blackening the face of the democratically-elected government of Spain, and extolling the fascist mercenaries and the murderers of Badajoz, took on with great ease a similar employment with regard to the democracy of the U.S.S.R. and the fascist murderers on trial in Moscow. But the *Manchester Guardian* and the other press of the left (defined as Left by their support of the Spanish people against fascism) presented the sorriest spectacle. They led the attack. Their famous scruples vanished, together with their restraint of language. Sympathy for the terrorists, antipathy to the Soviet Government, appeared in their editorials. With extraordinary light-mindedness, the *Manchester Guardian* and other similar papers appeared to have set themselves to embitter relations between the people

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of the Soviet Union (the peril to the lives of Soviet leaders was callously disregarded) and the people of this country.

At the same time, these newspapers of the Left seemed unaware that, by their anti-Soviet fury, they were double-crossing their own policy of support for Spain, by taking part with the Nazis in the anti-Soviet campaign that culminated in the Nuremburg Congress. This seemingly odd coalition reveals that many of those who profess great sympathy with the results as shown in the Five-Year Plan of the Russian Revolution have a still deeper sympathy with the counter-revolution. For these newspapers, as for the Nazis, it was thought proper to assume that the trial was "incredible," "farcical," "staged." They spread abroad amongst the British people the notion that the trial was "not fair," and every resource of prejudice was summoned up to prove this. They had no justification for it, and it is interesting to note that the *Manchester Guardian* was compelled to open its columns in the middle of September to some of its readers whom it had not succeeded in stampeding. It is to be hoped that a still greater number of its readers and supporters will look back with shame on the *Manchester Guardian's* melancholy exhibition of prejudice, falsification and obscurantism.

Why obscurantism? Because the writers of these newspapers chose to forget things unknown to many of their readers, but of which the writers themselves were bound to have had knowledge. They played on the naïve insularity which imagines that English justice, "however imperfect," is the only possible form of justice, and that justice in the French Republic with its preliminary examination, is highly inferior and hardly to be called justice. They ignored the fact that, in its forms, though not in its class content, Soviet justice was nearer to the French than to the English conception, and they proceeded to stir up all this old insular prejudice against the Soviet procedure. It may be noted that in his *Journal 1929*, Arnold Bennett, one of the few English writers who knew something about France, has the following record of a conversation with two barristers and a magistrate:

> It became clear from the conversation that English legal procedure puts a very heavy handicap on any prisoner, and that a prisoner without professional help has almost no chance of being acquitted. Lastly, none of the three lawyers was convinced that the procedure of British criminal justice was in practice any fairer to the accused than the French procedure which so often rouses the indignation of Englishmen. And they would not deny that it was even less fair.

But apart from these *Manchester Guardian* demagogues, there were many who obviously considered that the English legal rule of *sub judice*, of no comment during trial proceedings, was not part of English, but of *eternal, justice*. They professed themselves filled with horror at the resolutions passed by the workers in Soviet factories, a horror which

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they have not always found it necessary to express at a breach of the English rule in the Republics of France and America ; nor did they express this horror when Sir Walter Citrine broke the *sub judice* rule by his intervention in the trial, while proceedings were pending. No wonder that the Continental readers of the English newspapers continue to exclaim : " British hypocrisy."

Finally, the newspaper writers were guilty of obscurantism in their apparently naïve affirmation of the innocence of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, etc., for they must have known from the history of revolutions of the degeneration process amongst a few former leaders and their transformation into counter-revolutionaries.

But, if obscurantism and prejudice marked the press of the Left in general, what is to be said of the disgraceful behaviour of the *Daily Herald*, which outdid the *Daily Mail?* " Whether the evidence is bogus or genuine, no one can be sure. For the procedure was an arraignment, not a judicial inquiry," said the *Daily Herald*, and then goes on to suggest that torture must have been employed. The only excuse the *Daily Herald* scribes could make is that they were writing to order ; they were expressing the policy of Sir Walter Citrine and the other reformist leaders who were interested in this case from a political point of view.

Sir Walter Citrine, from the middle of June, had been carrying on a campaign against working-class unity, against the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party, and (for the same purpose) against the Soviet Union. It was as a continuation and culmination of this campaign that Sir Walter Citrine seized on the occasion of the trial to raise prejudice against the Soviet Union, to a point where he and other reformist leaders could stampede the delegates of the Trades Union Congress. Citrine gave forth the tune, and the *Daily Herald* piped to it.

It is worth while to place on record the famous Citrine telegram :

> *To the Chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars.*—We regret that, at a time when the world working class is united in its feelings of solidarity with the Spanish working class in its defence of the democratic republic, a great political trial has opened in Moscow. In spite of the fact that the accused in this trial—Zinoviev and his comrades—were always the uncompromising enemies of the Labour and Socialist International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions, we cannot refrain from making the request that the accused should be assured of all legal guarantees, that they will be permitted to have defending counsel who are completely independent of the government, that the death sentence will not be passed on them, that in any case no legal procedure should be used against them which excludes the possibility of an appeal.
>
> Signed : President of the Labour and Socialist International, *de Brouckère;* Secretary : *Adler;* President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, *Citrine;* Secretary : *Chevenels.*

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The Soviet Government did not consider it necessary to send an answer, but an appropriate answer was forthcoming in the following wire from D. N. Pritt, K.C. :

> Greatly shocked read telegram Brouckère, Citrine to Sovnarkom concerning trial Zinoviev, Moscow. Myself attended trial, followed proceedings carefully. Completely satisfied case properly conducted and accused fairly and judicially treated. Their appearance, demeanour indicated absence any ill treatment or fear. They voluntarily renounced counsel ; they addressed court freely as often as they wished, including final speeches after prosecutor finished. Am personally satisfied no ground whatever for insinuating any unfairness in form or substance. Consider whole procedure and treatment prisoners throughout trial as example to world in cases where prisoners admitted guilt deliberate conspiracy murder leaders state and overthrow government. In circumstances think courts any country would pass death sentence and executive carry out.

With this telegram from the English barrister and Labour Member of Parliament, who had no axe to grind, we can leave the unsavoury business of the *Daily Herald* and Citrine, and consider what was the significance of the trial.

The report of court proceedings, published in English by the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R., shows very clearly that the Trotsky-Zinoviev conspirators had, firstly, a foreign policy. This was the defeat of the Soviet Government in war, which, they imagined, would give them an opportunity. This was their external policy and it coincided with the policy of the Nazis. Their internal policy, confronted by the success of Socialist construction, had been reduced simply to plans for the murder of Stalin, Voroshilov, Kaganovitch and other leaders of the Soviet Government. This too corresponded to the Nazi method, as shown in the assassination of Dolfuss, as well as a whole train of murders inside Germany (Kurt Eisner in 1919 ; Ertzberger in 1921 ; Chancellor Rathenau in 1922, etc.). Moreover, organisational connection with the Nazi Gestapo was proved to the hilt.

But what does this policy of assassination within, and defeat in war from without amount to ? *It is nothing less than a policy of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.* The close correspondence in propaganda of the Nazis and the Trotskyists confirms this conclusion. Both Nazis and Trotskyists allege that there is state capitalism in the U.S.S.R., that the abolition of rationing meant the lowering of the standard of life of the workers, etc., etc.

If the history of individuals is gone into, it can be seen from the example of the would-be assassin of Cachin, of the informer against Rakosi, and finally, of Maria Reese, how quickly the Trotskyist can become a direct agent of the Nazis. The view that Trotskyism was a tendency within the working-class movement is now long out of date. Trotskyism is now revealed as an ancillary of fascism. There are still innocent members

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of the British I.L.P. who would be astounded at this statement ; there were innocent members of the Socialist League forty-five years ago who would have been equally astounded when told of the danger of anarchism. But the Socialist League fell into the hands of the anarchists. The I.L.P. is in great danger of falling into the hands of Trotskyists, and becoming a wing of fascism. Let the members of the I.L.P. look to it.

Not only in the I.L.P., but in the trade unions, and throughout the working class generally, there are many who do not know the past history of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, for whom they were names much mentioned in the newspapers, and who therefore could be deceived by the " Left " press. One of the chief lessons for the working class in this trial is the necessity of studying carefully the careers of these executed terrorists, together with the history of the whole Russian Revolution.

But a still more important lesson to be drawn is the necessity of vigilance inside the working-class movement. The traitors to the cause of the working-class in Britain have been rewarded not with the just penalty of their crime, but with capitalist honours, honours bestowed on them for their success in misleading the workers. It would have been of tremendous advantage to the working-class if Ramsay MacDonald and Thomas had been exposed earlier ; it would be a tremendous advantage to-day if some of the existing leaders were similarly exposed. In every trade union, in every working-class organisation, the lesson of this trial of these traitors to the working-class movement should be the necessity of class vigilance. The easy-going attitude towards the preachers of class collaboration landed the Labour Party in the debacle of 1931. Greater disasters may lie ahead if this attitude is not abandoned. Above all, this vigilance is most required in the revolutionary working-class organisations.

Finally, this trial has shown that the reformist leaders, in their anxiety to break the united front, are ready to defend terrorists. At the very time when an international united front is an urgent necessity, they seize every opportunity to cripple it. It is true that the developments in France and in Spain, with their sharper and sharper class struggle, are having an immediate effect on the reformists. Compelled at the beginning to pay lip service to defence of democracy in Spain, they are now alarmed at the progress of the united front, and are showing themselves anxious to break it while there is still time.

The answer of the working class in Britain, taught by the lessons of this trial, must be to extend this united front and to weld it together strongly. The answer of all those outside the ranks of the working class, who have rallied to the defence of democracy in Spain, must be to deepen and extend that democratic front of support of democracy, and to use the Moscow trial as one of the best examples of how a real democracy can defend itself against fascism.

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THE STRATEGY OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE

By WALTER SCOBELL

IT is a commonplace that the British Empire has reached a period of acute crisis: our rulers realise this, and in consequence it is worth while to try and get some idea of what they are thinking, what they are going to do about the crisis, if they are merely drifting, or if they have a positive policy, and what strategy they are going to pursue.

For some time past there have been rumours of a split in the Cabinet —in the Conservative Party—in the ruling class. There is just something in it. The weaker half see an element of insurance for the Empire in a collective security policy. But the stronger half loathe the prospect of co-operation with republican France and socialist Russia. The stronger half insist and the weaker admit that the League of Nations collective security policy cuts right across the basic principles which have guided British policy for a century. To appreciate the successive international crises as they develop in this period of chronic crisis, and to weigh up the probable strategy of the British ruling class in the crisis of the moment it is necessary to understand that our rulers are governed in their actions by four or five basic principles, and that differences of opinion, which are not fundamental, only occur over tactical application of these principles and *not* over the principles themselves. The ruling class is successful just because it is susceptible to the opinions and changing circumstances that surround it. It uses democracy just as we use a barometer. And so in order to try and anticipate what the Foreign Office is likely to do under given circumstances it is necessary to take stock of (1) the basic principles which guide our rulers, and which are constant; and (2) the influences which are at present at work, and those which seem likely to make themselves felt soon, and which are variable.

The main principles which have governed British diplomacy since the rise of capitalism are:—(1) the command of the sea, (2) the maintenance of strategic points and coaling stations along the sea routes, (3) the maintenance of the balance of power on land. These three principles are still actively upheld. A fourth—the principle of free trade and the "open door"—which was rejected by Joseph Chamberlain at the beginning of the century, was not finally abandoned until after the world war. Two new principles have more recently emerged: (4) this might, for the want of a better term, be called "the need for support." It was first employed when Lord Lansdowne negotiated the alliance with Japan in

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1902. This alliance implied the admission for the first time that Britain could no longer maintain unaided the hegemony of all the oceans of the world. It implied, not the renunciation of principle (1)—the command of the sea—but its modification. Such modification seemed inevitable before 1914 to avoid straining the resources of the Empire unduly. Even before Japan's surprising defeat of the Russian Empire it was evident to our far-seeing statesmen that she was a rapidly rising maritime power at about the furthest point from the centre of British Imperial influence. The more obvious disadvantages of this alliance—among them the implied partial surrender of maritime sovereignty—were realised by the Foreign Office even before 1902. The less obvious disadvantages were equally appreciated before the alliance was extended. The fact that it was extended is only further proof that our rulers felt the extreme need for "support" for the Empire in Asia. Although wars with Germany, Russia, and the United States were all, in diplomatic language, equally "unthinkable," it was felt that an unsupported British naval world supremacy was becoming beyond the resources and energy of the Empire. It was a bitter pill to swallow, and it has made the path of British diplomacy far more difficult and complicated. British commercial and financial imperialism in the Far East seems almost on the verge of collapse, even without a shot being fired.

(5) The second new basic principle of British diplomacy is the defence of Capitalism. This implies a general support for reaction wherever found and in whatever shape, and, conversely, hostility, whether latent or patent, to all progressive tendencies whether they be towards political or economic democracy, self-government, colonial emancipation, internationalism, educational growth, socialism. This is a new development. Blatant and omnipotent as it was in the nineteenth century, British Imperialism was in some sense at least a liberal Imperialism. Supremely self-confident, and in its self-confidence, tolerant. It no longer possesses these compensations. This is, of course, a normal historical development. In the natural course of events with the rise of world capitalism Britain was bound to lose her industrial and economic supremacy and, in consequence, her self-confidence. The evolution of capitalism itself compelled her to hasten the process by the export of capital and capital goods. But the economists bred in the capitalist conception of historic development were wholly taken by surprise by the rise of Socialism and the capture of power in the Soviet Union. This has introduced a new factor to diplomacy, and affects the attitude of the Foreign Office to (3)—the Balance of Power.

We are now in a fair position to consider in what direction these guiding principles will influence British policy in the present crisis, and how that policy will react to the crisis.

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How will present and changing influences react on set principles? How will they mould a strategy? Will that strategy be successful? Will its success or failure lead to peace, war, reaction or progress? How far can the working class movement thwart and curb and dominate a reactionary Foreign Office?

For clarity let us tabulate the principles and also some of the present influences, thus:

THE PRINCIPLES

(1) Command of the Sea.
(2) Maintenance of Strategic points along Sea Routes.
(3) The Balance of Power.
(4) The need for Support.
(5) The defence of Capitalism.

THE PRESENT INFLUENCES

(6) The growth of American Imperialism.
(7) The growth of Communist influence in France and Spain.
(8) The Japanese industrial offensive.
(9) The Japanese military offensive.
(10) The re-entry of Germany into power politics.
(11) The arrival of Air Power.
(12) The growth of Nationalism.
(13) The Colonial awakening.
(14) The League of Nations and the idea of Collective Security.
(15) Socialism triumphant in the Soviet Union and its essential Internationalism.

It will be noticed that five of the present influences are sectional or national, five are comprehensive and international. For brevity I have omitted what seem to me to be at present minor influences such as the Italian bid for an East African Empire and its potential threat to the all-red routes to South Africa and India. Foreign Office assessments of risks are realistic and usually fairly accurate. 1915–18 exposed Italy as more a liability than an asset as an ally, and our Foreign Office has no illusions about the rejuvenating effect of Fascism upon her. Nevertheless, the prospect of a hostile Italian air force in the Mediterranean is an influence which must carry some weight, and Italy will come more into the picture when we consider the new principle (5)—the defence of Capitalism, which now looms so large in the calculations of our rulers.

Here then we have five basic principles to guide our diplomats; five nationalist reactions to cause them misgiving, and five international complications all threatening ultimate disaster.

A review article is not the place to consider the reactions of all these influences upon the strategy of the Foreign Office, and here it is only proposed to sketch an outline picture by putting the reader for a few minutes into the shoes of a typical permanent under-secretary for Foreign

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Affairs sitting at his desk with the list of influences tabulated in front of him and a worried Foreign Minister standing at his elbow. They realise that Liberal Pacifism is still an influence to be reckoned with ; that the Trade Unions, in spite of defeatist leadership, are still opposed to military and industrial conscription ; that the middle class, reared in capitalist democracy is, as ever, wedded to its creature comforts, not easily driven except at the risk of losing its loyalty, and as ever, inclined to put profits before patriotism. They realise that the workers are still class-conscious and ready to react to a revolutionary leadership. Such is their pretty accurate estimate of conditions on the home front. With the accurate information they have received from the City they know only too well that Fascism is a form of stimulant for capitalism in decay. They instinctively dislike drugs of any kind—even stimulants, and maintain that a healthy capitalism is their ideal. They hope the stimulant won't be needed at home just at present. They diagnose that British capitalism maintains itself in a comparatively healthy state as yet because it is a parasite feeding its life-blood on the spoils of Empire.

Parasitism (in the old colonial sense of bleeding native populations by means of " investment " in their labour) is not enough. A new parasitism must be developed. Further, foreign policy must include the championship of a cause. Happily the championship of a cause can be combined with a new form of parasitism and will give the best prospects of strenthening the shaky fabric of British Imperialism. They apply their guiding principles. They know that (1) and (2) (command of the sea and strategic points) cannot be maintained without principle (4) support. The supporting power or powers must not become too powerful. The supporting tails must, if possible, not have the opportunity of wagging the British dog. They must need British support more desperately than British Imperialism needs theirs. Here then is the " Cause " to champion, the new principle (5)—the Defence of Capitalism. It is a pretty game : to tend the sick Fascist ; to feed him with credits ; to encourage his acquisitive instincts ; to employ him as a mercenary ; to earn his gratitude ; and then to bind him to you by sending in the bill. The game is dangerous. America played it in a small way in the last war, and the debtors ran away from their debts. But after all, it is the *only game.* To retain its dominant position British Imperialism must have its dependent support whether against the more virile imperialism of America or the " Bolshevik menace " in the Eastern Hemisphere.

It seems, then, the policies that are taking shape in 1936 in the minds of the Foreign Office can be summarised thus : It is an axiom that the Defence of Capitalism must mean support for the weakest link. Our financial strength permits us and our common sense bids us to champion the weak links of capitalism because (1) we can bind them to us the more easily because they *are* weak ; because (2) to save the weakest link will

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be to save world capitalism from dissolution ; because (3) we need their help to maintain our dominant position ; because (4) although they are weak links they possess powerful military machines ; because (5) the weak links are anti-liberal, anti-socialist, anti-international, anti-democratic —and we, the British ruling class fear and know that Liberalism, Socialism, Internationalism and Democracy must render our position impossible. *Divide et impera* is part of our set policy, for only by so acting can we retain an impossibly cumbersome empire. And so we must become the champions of the have-nots against the haves. So shall we be able to tilt the balance of power in our favour.

The above, it seems, is a more than probable picture of how the future policy of the inner circles of the British ruling class is being moulded—even if it has not already taken its final shape. True, we are still being flooded with statements in the Press from those who are not in the confidence of the Foreign Office and the City that " the Government has no policy." True, Mr. Duff Cooper, in the early summer, made a speech friendly to France. True, Hitler has recently been laying more emphasis on his demand for colonies, and presumably in consequence *The Times* has been mildly sarcastic about the Nazi speeches at Nuremberg. " German leaders will quite misjudge the temper of the British people if they suppose that this country would be ready to help cut off the head of Communism in order to make Fascism king in Europe." (Leading article, September 14.) Unfortunately, this is precisely what British foreign policy is leading to. But at whose expense is fascism to become "king?" R.P.D. said in his "Notes of the Month" in the May MONTHLY:

> The Hitler War Plan is a Nazi dagger pointed directly at the heart of every people east of the Rhine, but therefore also at all Europe and the peace of the world ; and some of the leaders of British imperialism outside the National Government are beginning to realise that the point of that dagger must eventually be turned, if the first stage succeeds, of necessity against the British Empire.

John Strachey (*Daily Worker*, April 7), was even more definite :

> It does not seem to me by any means a fantastic speculation that in these circumstances Hitler will suddenly switch round his whole foreign policy, will call a truce in his struggle with the Soviet Union and France, and will suddenly confront an isolated Britain with demands which mean surrender to him, or a war in which Britain will stand alone.

The Foreign Office does no doubt realise this danger. But does it invalidate the suggestion that (partly *because* of the danger) it is determined to turn it aside by helping to satisfy the ambitions of Germany and Japan at the expense of the Soviet Union, the smaller nations, and democratic France ? May not the Foreign Office underestimate the inner strength of the Soviet Union and overestimate the cohesive strength of the Hitler dictatorship ? Hitler still adheres to the policy of " *Mein Kampf* " and the capture of British support. Surely his only hope is in British finance and the British fleet.

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What conclusions can we draw from this analysis in the light of present circumstances? The threat of Fascism has created an atmosphere favourable to a world-wide rally of progressive opinion in defence of political democracy. The first fruits of the United Front in France have stimulated all the peoples of Europe that are not kept in ignorance by censorship. It has dawned on the peoples that Fascism is not only opposed to democracy, but to collective responsibility, collective security, and all forms of international forbearance. They are realising that, even if an all-inclusive League of Nations is—so long as Fascism exists—both unattainable and undesirable, yet collective security and mutual assistance are essential. It is realised that the dictatorship countries have already achieved a considerable success in progressively interfering with impunity in the internal affairs of weaker states, and their aim is the piecemeal destruction of democracy. The world-wide rally for the defence of democracy has no doubt begun, as witness the Brussels Conference. Where, then, does the Foreign Office stand? Obviously not with Lord Cecil and the International Peace Campaign. It knows quite well that you cannot square the Crown Colonies and India, or even Palestine, with democracy and progress. The alternative is dictatorship and reaction. Imperialism is always imperialism. "We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians . . . We conquered India by the sword, and by the sword we shall hold it" as Lord Brentford aptly put it (*Daily News*, October 17, 1925). Our Imperial Government is harnessed to stark reaction, and could not get out of the traces even if it wished. But it is skilful. It has the old trade union leadership in its pocket.

> Mr. Bevin attacked the Communists, Sir Walter Citrine attacked the Liberals, but nobody attacked the Tories. . . . . When the South Wales delegates proposed that the General Council should organise strikes, marches, and a boycott of the Coronation, Sir Walter told them to behave themselves, and turned to the more robust task of having a smack at Stalin. . . . . It is well known that Sir Walter Citrine has seen Mr. Baldwin recently, and another prominent union leader has been in close, if not constant touch with the Prime Minister." (Article by Ian Mackay in the *News Chronicle*, September 17.)

The increasing strength of the Soviet Union has so far diverted Japanese expansion southward to China, and Japan is steadily encroaching on British interests there. She will continue to do so unless Germany finds the opportunity to strike eastwards. Might not Japan be bought off the British preserves in China? That is what the Foreign Office is asking. And it will continue to ask. This danger to democracy, socialism, peace is ever present. The need for the United Front in this country becomes daily more urgent.

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THE BRUSSELS PEACE CONGRESS

I.

A Message to the Congress

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

THE Peace of the world is in danger. Peoples of the world, we must defend it !

The first thing is to be able to see and expose the danger that is threatening us. What is the use of duping ourselves ? For months now, in order to work with persons who agree to nothing, an attempt has been made to veil over that which everybody is aware of. We must tear the veil aside. War is here facing us. It surrounds us on every side. Democracies of the West, we feel it like a serpent's knot entwined about our limbs. We must break that knot, break and shatter war !

This we can only do by uniting all our forces. Let us stop empty disputing, sweep aside all that causes division. It is no longer the time for party tilting and jousting. We solemnly swear, all of us who wish to save democratic liberty, all who wish to lay the foundations of social justice, no matter what nation we belong to, what international, what race, or religion, no matter if we have no religion, all of us who wish to rid humanity of those two scourges, which in fact are one—oppression and war—we swear to join hands and face our enemy.

And who this enemy is we must say outright : it is fascism. We do not say : it is of this or that country. We do not allude to any country, be it fascist or not ; we only ask for loyal co-operation between all, provided all do likewise. This fascism is the poison which at this very moment is devouring the body of Europe, this frenzied ideology that holds to the supremacy of one race, one people, one country, over all the others ; this is the essence of fascism, this inevitably is a war ideology. It is no longer the old imperialism, that sought to conquer new territories for the enrichment of its own countries, though it did not maintain as a principle the degradation of those it conquered, peoples who throughout history have enriched imperialism with the proceeds of their labour and shed their blood for it. No, it is the insatiable pride of a " pure " race, of a " chosen " people, which scorns and tramples on others, which crushes them and sets them outside the law.

Fascists of every complexion aim at domination. They all use the word " peace " ; peace is a word on everybody's lips, it acts as a

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weapon for enslaving public opinion. But in reality, all fascists live only in war and for war. We see this to-day, in Spain, where they have done all they can to inflame the situation—where they have armed the rebel generals and their African troops against the people of Spain—where they wish to force other states to blockade the legal government of Spain, which is recognised by every government and a member of the League of Nations ; its only crime in their eyes is that it is the properly constituted government of Spain, and the legal expression of the country's democracy. The loot on which they already have their eye is Northern Africa and the Mediteranean, out from which they intend to clear the two great democracies of the West, England and France, and over which they will quarrel when it comes to dividing it up ; then they will press on to their final goal, the disintegration of both these democracies.

If they accuse us of misrepresenting their plans, if they assure us that they want peace, and not war, to believe them we require of them deeds, not words. To prove that their intentions are honourable they must agree to what we have long been offering them and what is desired by all those countries that wish for peace : that great pact of collective security guaranteed by all and for the defence of all. Further, they must follow the example of the Governments of three great nations, whose people fear foreign aggression by repeating before the whole world their declaration : "*We do not want one inch of foreign soil.*" Let them not support rebels against properly constituted governments. Let not their insatiable greed and their flood of propaganda any longer be a constant menace to the independence of small nations, whether they be their immediate neighbours or not.

And we who are democratic countries must do our duty. The duty that we have too often neglected, or else not dared to carry out.

We must not submit to the bluff of war-mongers, to their endless game of twisting and pretence, seasoned with empty promises and threats which have paralysed our action. Democracies only live in so far as they respect a justice that is the same for all, for all individuals, and for all peoples. We must defend those peoples that are attacked. We must act as armed guarantors of the inviolability of those obligations that result from treaties, of the independence of all nations and in particular small nations and of those which are threatened with the rapacious designs of robber states.

The great democracies which have the honour of bearing responsibility for the preservation of the peace of the world have these last fifteen years grown feeble in the task that faces them. They have allowed in Europe and in the world as a whole acts of violence to follow one another ; they have allowed violent dictatorship to develop. To-day, we are threatened from every side—from the East, from the South, from without and from

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within ; the enemies of democracy and peace are united in a hideous coalition. It is not too late ; but time now leaves no choice but to face our enemy energetically. We must get our forces together. And let none of us entertain the cowardly thought that he can save himself by sacrificing others. Let none of us think that we can disarm our enemy by allowing any one of us to become his prey. Our enemy wants everything. He means to have everything. He will not stop until he has destroyed, one after the other, all the forces of liberty—or else until liberty has laid him low.

How can we achieve our aim of defeating fascism, and establishing the rule of peace in the world with liberty and order, peace and mutual regard of nation for nation ?

First and foremost by the will of the peoples of every country—the sovereign will to which we made our appeal at the World Congress at Amsterdam—an appeal which secured a mighty response.

The peoples want peace. Passionately and resolutely they want it. They cry aloud their desire for peace. Our task is to transform this into fact. There is no State, no Empire, no *Duce* nor *Führer*, that can stand against the clear and steadfast will and vigour of the peoples. We must organise it. Right here, at Brussels, we are overjoyed at seeing at last united, for the first time, the mighty forces of the workers, and peasants' organisations and the representatives of all the Internationals. It is the most powerful Council of Labour that has ever been gathered together. Let it make its power felt.

It will not, to be sure, be able to take the place of the Executives of the several states, but it can and must henceforth be ever ready to advise them. States are there to serve the people, not to be served by the people. Let them listen to the voice of the people, and let the people for the future be always present in their councils, awake and watching them. In a word, let the states be the faithful executors of the will of the People, who want Peace, who want a vigorous defence of Peace.

In principle the League of Nations is and ought to be the central organ of the peoples of each country associated together mutually to defend their rights. It has fallen short of its mission, and has manifested weakness that is tantamount to treachery, and this for the very reason that it has been divorced from the peoples, because it has been without the influx of their blood and of their might. Let this might, let this blood of the peoples flow back again into its veins. Let the spirit of the peoples henceforth breathe within it. Make way for the peoples in the League of Nations ! Let them give it new life. Let them bring back their will and their energy to that framework and those statutes, which without them remain dead and objects of scorn. These must no longer be derided or their enforcement prevented by timidity or treachery. The League has played long enough with words, the sole purpose of which

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is to see that nothing whatsoever is done. Cloaks of purple oratory and caution born of fright no longer fit the times. Reality is what we must speak of now. And the reality is this, that a mighty struggle is being waged between the world marching forward to a new order of reason, justice and peace—between this world and the murderous powers of the past whose existence depends on war and whose purpose is to grind beneath their heel the peoples that are free.

Let us gather together around our banner: *Social Justice*, the faith we hold in common, and, the only mother of all Progress: Liberty.

II.

Impressions of the Congress

By J. ROWAN.

(*General Secretary, Electrical Trades Union*).

THE first Congress of the International Peace Campaign was a revelation. The very number of delegates which attended overtaxed the inadequate number of people who had been appointed to make the necessary arrangements. Every credit, however, must be given to the Committee for the very hard work they put in, and their difficulty in coping with double the number of delegates expected.

The Congress itself was a spontaneous and earnest desire in the cause of peace. Brussels was the centre as the inhabitants there had experienced the full effects of the Great War and many of the Belgian representatives spoke with bitterness of 1914-18. France also sent a very large quota of delegates and in both cases it was pitiable to see the number of elderly women in mourning who had such sad recollections of the last War.

The arrangements by which the Congress was separated into commissions, which we in England recognise as sections, precluded one from getting a general idea. I, as attending the Trade Union Section which consisted of nearly 1,000 delegates, was impressed with the fact that there was not a jarring note during the whole of the commission in the expression of opinion of the utter detestation of War.

At the commencement of the Congress it was an amazing sight to see some four or five thousand delegates cramming the Central Hall. A very representative International body addressed this opening meeting. This was even capped by the final meeting of the general commission at their plenary and closing sessions of the Congress. There was not a single seat unoccupied and it was a very large hall. The two speakers who impressed me at the Trades Union Session were Leon Jouhaux, who gave a general report, and N. Schvernik, the Secretary-General of the U.S.S.R. Unions who, by the way, is the successor to Tomsky.

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It is to be hoped that the impetus given to the Peace Movement will be adequately followed up in all countries, especially as the present tendency of most governments is towards War rather than Peace. Unfortunately, they are preaching peace and preparing for war. A very bad combination as it is too much like trying to dupe each other.

To sum up, it was a wonderful demonstration and deserves the thanks of all those who had the privilege of taking part in it.

III.

The Achievements of the Congress

By PAT SLOAN

THERE are many people, such as " Critic " in the *New Statesman and Nation*, who have expressed disappointment at the results of the World Peace Congress. This is the attack from the " Left," which has added itself to the already wide campaign from the Right, a campaign which included every kind of attempt to prevent the Congress from meeting at all. Perhaps " Critic " does not realise that attempts from the Right were being made to wreck the Congress. Perhaps he does not realise that the Belgian government imposed all kinds of restrictions, and that the organisers were threatened that if the Congress went anywhere beyond the Four Points on the Agenda the Congress might be closed down. On the opening day of the Congress it was announced that the International Union of Ex-Servicemen, which had held a conference in Warsaw, had withdrawn its support. This, it was hoped—by those who were responsible for the decision—would affect the policy of other Ex-servicemen's delegations, and other organisations, and wreck the Congress. However, by sticking strictly to the Four Points on the Agenda, by keeping the Congress strictly to the question of Peace, the unity of the Congress was preserved in spite of these wrecking tactics from the Right.

Now, as a result of this, as a result of the fact that unity was preserved on the question of Peace, we are told how " ashamed " Critic was that the Congress did not deal with Spain. Did Spain come in the agenda ? Did all the delegates at the Conference feel as Critic does, or as I do, on the question of Spain ? Would the Congress have remained united as it did, if a " fifth point," help to the Spanish Government, had been introduced by those of us who are doing everything we can to give help to the elected Spanish government ? The answer to each of these questions is a firm No, and " Critic," in his " shame," is simply playing into the hands of the Right who want to discredit the Conference, whether the actual criticisms come from the Right or from the " Left."

" Critic " seems to forget that not all of the organisations which were present at the Congress were even whole-heartedly in support of the

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Four Points. Several organisations made reservations on the question of Collective Security, and in Brussels, a group of pacifist observers held a separate meeting of their own. Further, in those organisations which supported the Four Points, there were still a considerable number of dissentients before the Congress, and it remains for all of us who were there to see that the number of these dissentients is now reduced to a minimum as a result of Brussels.

And this is where the usefulness of the Congress becomes apparent. In all kinds of peace organisations you will find all kinds of tendencies: extreme pacifism, support for Treaties and their enforcement by an "International Police." The denial of existing Treaties on the ground that they are unjust, support for the League of Nations but denial of separate Mutual-Assistance Pacts, the position taken up at Congress favouring Collective Security and Mutual Assistance as a means of strengthening the League and the open fight for Peace and against War —the two issues being combined in one programme. The aim of the Congress was to get the ***maximum possible unity*** of all these groups, and therefore the whole basis of the Congress was the now famous Four Points.

And the Congress has been a success, because it united a wider range of movements, which sent mass delegations to the Congress, than any similar international gathering hitherto. When 5,500 delegates come together, from Peace organisations, Trade Unions, and even from Municipalities, and when they all support the policy expressed in the Four Points, this is a tremendous stimulus to the forces fighting for peace all over the world.

The extent to which the general acceptance of the Four Points is a step forward seems to be grossly underrated by some people. They take the points for granted, and seem to assume that everyone else does. But this is not so. The four points, actually, represent a great step forward for the peace organisations of the world, for the very reason that they get away from purely abstract declarations for disarmament and peace, and lay down the concrete steps which must be fought for in every eventuality.

Point 1.—"Recognition of the Sanctity of Treaty Obligations" is probably the most widely accepted of all the Four Points. No wonder, if only because of this Point, that the Congress has been attacked by all the fascist and pro-fascist Governments and press. The record of German and Italian fascism in Treaty breaking and in defying the provisions of the League Covenant together with the two faced policy of the National Government provide sufficient reason for their fury. Point 4 which states the "Establishment within the framework of the League of Nations effective machinery for remedying international conditions which might lead to war," can but result in curbing fascist aggression, *e.g.*, by envisaging arbitration as against the favourite fascist method of

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militarist coups, or by an international arms reduction as opposed to a feverish armaments race. The recognition of Treaties, and the provision of the means for removing conditions that might lead to war, are, in principle, the basis for a lasting peace, and for a fight against the fascist war offensive.

But this Congress is important because it fully recognised that Peace is not preserved by recognising principles ; but by concrete organisational measures. It recognised a fact which up to the present has been often forgotten at peace gatherings—that the production of arms for profit is one of the most important causes of war. Therefore, at this Congress, the " Reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement " is coupled with " the suppression of profit from the manufacture and trade in arms " (Point 2). The extent to which this is a real advance can only be realised if one examines the existing programmes of the majority of those peace organisations which supported the Congress. The realisation of the connection between armaments and profit-making is a step forward, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated.

But all these provisions are, in a sense, long-term provisions. They do not meet the situation where one or more states violate a treaty or rapidly re-arm for aggressive purposes. This is dealt with in Point 3 : " Strengthening of the League of Nations for the prevention and stopping of war by the organisation of Collective Security and Mutual Assistance." Now this point is perhaps the most significant in the four. It is significant for this reason, it includes a recognition of both the weakness and of the strength of the League of Nations. If, of course, the League itself, up to the present, had provided mutual assistance promptly, in accordance with its Covenant, the League Covenant itself would have been the most effective Treaty of Mutual Assistance and guarantee of Collective Security that we can imagine. But we know from experience that the League does not operate either promptly or efficiently, because in point of fact it is dependent on all its individual members for carrying out its decisions.

Thus, the weakness of the League, by not making the Covenant a real guarantee of Collective Security and Mutual Assistance, has made it necessary to strengthen the League by the organising of Collective Security among those states, members of the League, who are ready at once and whole-heartedly, as against any act of aggression, to apply the Covenant of the League. And because these Mutual Assistance Pacts can be signed *within* the framework of the League of Nations, we must recognise the strength of the League machinery, even to-day, if only it is thus utilised.

Point 3, therefore, is the key to the salvation of the League of Nations. Point 3 has had to be introduced because the League has failed, but the

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adoption of Point 3 in practice by a growing number of States can make the League, in the last hour, succeed. The adoption and support of Point 3 by all the organisations represented at the Congress, with only a very few reservations, is a gigantic step forward in the fight for peace. It has brought all the talk about Peace-in-General down to a consideration of policy towards actual Acts of Aggression.

But the critics on the " Left " feel that to get the adoption of Points 2 and 3, and to get all the organisations represented at the Congress to fight for these points, is useless ? Surely they realise that to get support in each country to-day for the signing of pacts of mutual assistance on the model of the Franco-Soviet pact, and to get support for the suppression of profit from arms manufacture—are two steps forward of the greatest significance. As Schvernik said in his opening speech, " If we want to fight effectually for peace it is of no use to fight against the general war danger. We must fight against the war-mongers themselves, against those who believe that a new age of blood and iron has dawned, against those who want to make a new religion of war."

The real significance of the Brussels Congress is not the significance which that carping " Critic " of the *New Statesman* gives to it. As always happens, the open reactionaries see the alignment of class forces far more clearly than those wavering liberals who suddenly leap to the " left " and then take an endless time to find their new bearings. What do the fascists and the reactionaries say about the Brussels Congress ? The campaign that has been carried on against the Congress began long before the Congress began. It was labelled a " Red " Congress, in order to frighten away all those who favoured peace but could still be scared at the mention of the presence of " Reds." The correspondents, during the Congress, reported on the large numbers of " Reds " who were present—just as, in Spain, the Republican government was labelled a " Red " government by the same press. The line of the reactionary press on the Brussels Congress has been the same as its attitude to the Spanish Republican Government, because they recognise that both the Brussels Congress and the Spanish Government are forces for Democracy and Peace against Fascism and War.

The work which now faces us is this : to see that every organisation which sent delegates to the Congress, shall popularise—and fight for the carrying out of—the decisions of the Congress. To see that every Peace Council and League of Nations Union Branch, Trade Union Branch and Municipality, shall give full publicity to the Four Points, and shall do everything in its power, along the lines worked out in the Commissions of the Congress, to press upon the government the necessity for carrying out these Four Points in its own foreign policy.

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Are we " ashamed " of this task ? No, we are not, for we recognise fully that it is part of a more general task, that of fighting the reactionary policy of the National Government both at home and abroad. The " Left " critics think that it is an easy task to force the National Government to suppress the making of profit on arms manufacture—or to force the National Government to respect inconvenient treaties—or to force the National Government to join in the system of Mutual Assistance pacts. Do they think that the task is too narrow for us, to force the National Government out of office and to elect a government that *will* carry out the policy of the Brussels Congress ?

Further, while, to us, the fight for Peace is part of the general struggle against the National Government, we must realise that to others who were at the Congress, the position is different. To many of them, there may not yet appear to be any need for a struggle against the National Government as such. But what they will now find is this, that the fight for the Four Points alone forces them to fight the National Government that rejects these four points. Thus, the movement against the National Government is strengthened.

The Brussels Congress is a landmark in the fight for Peace, because it has co-ordinated the peace forces of every country, and concentrated their attention on a programme—a programme which unites all the forces against reaction.

The task of all of us, who attended the Congress, is not to feel " shame " that the Congress did not abandon its agenda, discuss Spain, and cause the withdrawal of a large part of its supporters, as well as giving the fascist and semi-fascist press every reason for calling it a manœuvre of the " Reds." The task of all of us is to fight for the realisation of the Four Points in this country ; and this will not be realised easily, it will mean a fierce struggle against all the united forces of reaction. The forces of Peace and Democracy must show the same fighting unity as the reactionaries show—and in such a struggle there is no place for doubters. The vital test is : Is the programme of Brussels a fighting programme against the National Government and its foreign policy ?—if it is, then unity on the Brussels programme, of the fighters for peace in this country, is a great step forward. It is only if the Brussels Congress had come to decisions that would have held back the struggle against the National Government, instead of bringing every kind of Peace organisation into this struggle, that we could have shared " Critic's " " shame " at the results of the Congress.

Our task is the realisation of the Brussels Programme—and the fulfilment of this task is part of our fight against the National Government and all that it stands for.

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BOOK REVIEWS

LEFT NATIONALISM IN INDIA.

Jawaharlal Nehru : An Autobiography. (John Lane.) pp. 618. 15s.
The Indian Struggle, 1920-1934. By Subhas C. Bose. (Wishart and Co.). pp. 353. 12s. 6d.

A NEW awakening is developing in Indian Nationalism. While the right wing is moving to co-operation with imperialism on the basis of the new constitution, the left wing is advancing, under the increasing influence of socialist ideas, to a new conception of basing the national struggle directly in the masses, in the mass organisations and in the fight for the social, economic and political interests of the masses, and on this basis realising the united Anti-Imperialist People's Front in India. The general conceptions underlying the new programme may be studied in the article "The Anti-Imperialist People's Front in India," which appeared in the March LABOUR MONTHLY. Nehru's Presidential Address at Lucknow in April (reprinted in the May LABOUR MONTHLY) marked a historic turning-point in proclaiming the new outlook and programme on the basis of a wide survey of the situation and development of the movement and calling specifically for the collective affiliation of the trade unions, peasants' unions and other mass organisations to the National Congress. Sharp controversy has followed Nehru's Address throughout the Indian national movement, and it is evident that a process of differentiation is developing of extreme significance for the future.

In this situation exceptional interest attaches to the appearance of Nehru's book, which in the form of autobiography surveys the experience and problems of the Indian national struggle and explains the author's philosophy and outlook on a wide variety of questions. With Nehru's book may be usefully considered Bose's book, which appeared last year and covers the same ground, though more superficially, up to 1934. Nehru and Bose have been the two best known leaders on the left wing in the Indian National Congress, although they have represented varying tendencies at different times. A valuable service is achieved by the appearance of both these books, which help to make close and living for the first time the experience and problems of the Indian national movement to English readers, as well as to assist the growth of self-consciousness of the Indian movement.

The autobiographical form of both books has its advantages and disadvantages. It has its advantages in giving by this means a survey and valuation of the experience and development of the struggle in India since the war up to the present stage. Such a survey and self-critical analysis is the essential condition for further advance. But it has its disadvantages in that it prevents a consistent fully worked out political treatment of the problems and encourages that subjective, psychological, introspective approach which is still unfortunately extremely marked in Indian political discussion and is a source of weakness. It is therefore to be hoped that in future books the political leaders on the left in India will advance to more definite, positive expositions and programmes, as well as to more detailed examination of the many urgent special questions.[1]

[1]A further statement of Nehru's positive views and programme is now available in his newly-issued book "India and the World" (Allen and Unwin, 5s.), a collection of essays and addresses, although this is still unfortunately only a miscellany and not yet a continuous statement.

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The first stage, however, to mastery of the future is a correct valuation of the past. The eighteen post-war years in India, the years of the civil disobedience movements and of the rise of the working class forces, have been rich in experiences and lessons. They have seen gigantic struggles, heroism and sacrifice ; hundreds of thousands have been imprisoned alike under Conservative and under Labour Governments ; British Imperialism has gone forward in an ascending tempo of violence and repression. The tale of these years is told in these books ; and it should be studied by all in the British Labour Movement to learn the truth of how British Imperialism rules, to learn the shame of the past two Labour Governments ; its study may above all be recommended to those in the British Labour Movement, the Citrines and the Morrisons, who boast of British Imperialism's "democratic" methods and dare to read lectures against "dictatorship." If Citrine is so anxious to journey on his missions of "impartial" inquiry, let him journey to India and there record under whose rule is the heaviest oppression, misery and suffering in the world.

But for the Indian national movement these years are rich with lessons for the future. On the anvil of history the methods of passive non-resistance, of "non-violence," have been tried out with a completeness never before equalled and never likely to be repeated, and have ended in complete failure. Not without reason, Nehru quotes the model of British Liberalism, Gladstone :

> I am sorry to say that if no instructions had been addressed in political crises to the people of this country except to remember to hate violence, to love order and to exercise patience, the liberties of this country would never have been attained.

Again and again the mass movement has swept forward, only to be checked at its height by a sudden capitulation of the existing national leadership, who sought to bring the masses into play as a threat to British Imperialism, but in the end at each critical point feared the masses more than Imperialism. Chauri Chaura in 1922, the Delhi Pact in 1931, the Poona surrender in 1934, have repeated this history. Nehru and Bose alike record the "consternation," "anger," "resentment" and "disgust" throughout the ranks of the national movement at the "staggering blow" of these capitulations, first exemplified in Chauri Chaura :

> To sound the order of retreat just when public enthusiasm was reaching the boiling point was nothing short of a national calamity. (Bose, p. 90.)
>
> It is possible that this sudden bottling-up of a great movement led to a tragic development in the country. The suppressed violence had to find a way out, and in the following years this perhaps aggravated the communal trouble. (Nehru, p. 86.)

Nevertheless, the analysis of these experiences and their lessons is still only incompletely carried out. Nehru speaks frankly of his own weakness in the past in too readily accepting at critical moments the line of retreat of Gandhi and the right wing leadership, and allowing his name to be identified with it ("as was not unusual with me, I allowed myself to be talked into signing" p. 197), especially with regard the responsibility of leadership in a personal subjective fashion ; to have declared opposition to the Delhi Pact and refuse to sign it, he considers, "would have soothed my personal vanity," but it was "better to accept gracefully what had been done and put the most favourable interpretation upon it" (p. 260). It is as against this line that his stand at Lucknow marks a big advance. Bose sees the issues in very narrow personal terms and throws all blame on the personal leadership of Gandhi. There is still lacking a Marxist analysis of the class forces at work, exemplified with classic clearness in the process of the Indian struggle. Nehru analyses with

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marked skill the reactionary ideology of Gandhi, and shows how it becomes in reality the protection of the interests of the landlords and upper classes under a cover of religion, non-violence, brotherly love and the doctrine of "trusteeship." Yet he believes that "Gandhiji does represent the peasant masses of India" (p. 253), although later he is compelled to present Gandhi as the open defender of the big zamindars or landlords, the exploiters of the peasants ("what upset me was Gandhiji's defence of the big zamindari system" p. 477). He quotes Gandhi as directly identifying himself with the propertied classes:

> Supposing that there is an attempt unjustly to deprive you of your property you will find me fighting on your side. (p. 535.)

Similarly he quotes Gandhi with regard to the British General Strike and miners' struggle in 1926, which awoke in Nehru, who was present in the mining districts and describes eloquently the police repression he witnessed, a passionate sympathy with the British workers and sense of unity of the class struggle, and aroused in Gandhi the following typical reflections:

> If the miners had no children, they would have no incentive for any betterment and no provable cause for a rise in wages. Need they drink, gamble, smoke?

Nevertheless Nehru, while accepting the Marxist theory on a world scale, objects to the Marxist analysis of Indian politics, and in particular of the rôle of the hitherto dominant right wing leadership of the National Congress, which uses the ideology of Gandhi as its emblem to reach the masses as reflecting the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie, and therefore at critical points vacillating towards imperialism and betraying the mass struggle. He objects to this analysis because he sees it only in an abstract simplified caricature: "the Indian capitalists are supposed to sit behind the scenes and issue orders to the Congress Working Committee." There is here a misunderstanding of Marxism; but this misunderstanding is frequent in the criticism of Marxism in all countries, and is partly caused by too abstract simplified propaganda.

With regard to the future, both Nehru and Bose are convinced of the necessity for a radical change in the policy, organisation and leadership of the national movement in order to realise the aim of independence; but there is a noticeable difference in their outlook and approach. Nehru turns increasingly to the workers and peasant masses; he desires to combine national liberation with social liberation; he is enthusiastic over the achievements of the Soviet Union, even though still hesitant over some of the necessary methods of struggle; he accepts in general the Marxist world outlook, and regards the Indian struggle in unity with the world forces of Communism and the popular front against fascism and reaction:

> As between fascism and communism my sympathies are entirely with communism. As these pages will show, I am very far from being a communist. . . . . But still I incline more and more towards a communist philosophy. (Nehru, p. 591.)

Bose expresses, although in very confused form, an alternative trend in Indian nationalism and criticises Nehru's communist sympathies. The living pictures of the conditions and struggle of the peasant masses which play a marked part in Nehru's book, and contact with which realities first opened his eyes, as he vividly describes, in 1920 from the old abstract nationalism, play no part in Bose's book. Bose attacks communism as anti-national, anti-religious, and atheistic; he looks for salvation, not primarily to the masses, but to "a strong party bound together by military discipline" (p. 345), "the future of India ultimately lies with a party with a clear ideology, programme and plan of action" (p. 349); he admires Mussolini, with whom he has been in personal contact,

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and praises Gandhi's meeting with Mussolini as a "great public service" (p. 261—it may be noted that Nehru refused Mussolini's pressing invitation to meet him); he holds up the aim for India as "a synthesis between Communism and Fascism," and regards the Independent Labour Party as the party closest to his views in England.

The trend here expressed, though not with full consciousness of its significance, reflects certain tendencies among some of the younger bourgeois and petit-bourgeois national elements in India who look with admiring eyes to fascism; although Hitler's speech glorifying the white man's rôle to rule the coloured races and contemptuous reference to Indians as an inferior race has begun to open their eyes to the true character of fascism. It is evident that this trend may prove a dangerous and disorganising influence in the ranks of left nationalism in India if it is not corrected in time. It is to be hoped, however, that the influence of Nehru's presidential lead at the Lucknow National Congress and the active advancing fight of the socialists and communists in India, may counteract these dangers and provide a common platform for all the militant national forces in India to unite in building a powerful Anti-Imperialist People's Front, based on the mass organisations and the mass struggle, and leading the way to national liberation, and through national liberation to the advance to social liberation.

R.P.D.

DIDEROT.

Diderot: Ses idées philosophiques. By I. K. Luppol. Traduit de russe par Y. et V. Feldman. Editions Sociales Internationales, Paris. 15 francs.

THE victories of the People's Front in France have been accompanied by a widening and deepening of interest in Marxism which is reflected by the publication in the last year or so of several works by French scholars on Marxism and modern thought, and Marxism and science. Now the "Editions Sociales Internationales" have begun the publication of a series of some fifty works, at the rate of ten a year, of a collection entitled "Socialisme et Culture." The object of this collection, the general editor of which is Georges Friedmann, is to provide critical studies of those writers who make up the cultural heritage of Socialism. The collection will thus contain studies of Shakespeare, Molière, Goethe, Voltaire, Rousseau, Hugo, Montaigne; of the Humanists of the Renaissance, of Descartes, Spinoza, the English Materialists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of Hegel, Feuerbach and Darwin; of the Utopian socialists, Babeuf, Saint-Simon, Owen, Cabet, Proudhon and Fourier; and finally of the great French Socialist leaders, Jaurès, Lafargue, Guesde and Vaillant.

A special section is devoted in this collection to the French Materialists of the eighteenth century. The translation of I. K. Luppol's "Diderot," which opens the series, is to be followed by another work on Diderot, and by studies of the Encyclopædists, Helvetius and Holbach. Thus, at long last, we may hope to have a scholarly study of the French materialists, whose place in the development of Marxism is tremendously important, but who have so far been utterly neglected in France, or at best have been either attacked or distorted by the historians of literature and philosophy.

It is significant for this state of affairs that the first work to be published in the section devoted to the French Materialists, should be a translation from the Russian, "Diderot. Ses idées philosophiques," by I. K. Luppol, Professor

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of the University of Moscow. The first Russian edition of this work, which appeared in 1924, was limited to 3,000 copies ; in 1934, however, appeared a second, revised edition of 10,000 copies, a proof of the growing interest in the history of materialism in the U.S.S.R. At the present moment a Russian edition of selected works of Diderot, in ten volumes, is appearing in Moscow.

Of all the French materialists of the eighteenth century Diderot is easily the most interesting, not only because of his brilliant gifts as a writer and a conversationalist, but because of his profundity and intuition which make him the least susceptible to the limitations of mechanistic materialism. But, because of his acknowledged greatness, attempts have been made by French critics to prove that he was not a materialist, or that, at the end of his career, he showed idealist tendencies. Thus a French critic could write : " If one begins to attribute the properties of mind to matter, does one not become thereby a spiritualist ? Such is the case of Diderot " (!) Luppol disposes effectively of this nonsense, and shows how, in his view of Nature, Diderot was a consistent materialist.

The first chapter of the book is devoted to a study of the life of Diderot, and of the social and economic structure of France in the period in which he wrote. Born in 1713 in the town of Langres, the son of a fairly prosperous cutler, he refused after leaving the Jesuit college in Paris either to enter the Church or to take up a profession, and led a hand-to-mouth existence as a literary hack, until in 1746 he was entrusted with the editorship of the " Encyclopædia," a task which was to absorb most of his energy for over twenty years. During the course of his life (he died five years before the outbreak of the Revolution) the French middle-classes increased enormously their economic power, to the point of being ripe for the taking over of political power in 1789. Luppol sets out to show that, in his views on science, philosophy, politics, literature and art, Diderot is the most qualified representative of this middle-class.

In the second chapter, headed by Diderot's words, " The first step towards philosophy is unbelief," Luppol traces his development from his break with Catholicism to complete atheism. The next chapter deals with Diderot's theory of knowledge ; he alone amongst the French materialists treats this question at any length. Taking over the sensualism of Locke, he rejects both the idealism of Berkeley and the phenomenism of Condillac, and adopts a completely materialist attitude when he declares that matter is " the universal cause of our sensations, as well as their object." The agnosticism which critics frequently attribute to him because he declares that we know absolutely nothing of the essence of matter, Luppol shows to be non-existent. Given the lack of development of science in his period, Diderot was quite justified in writing that in this question, " the moderns have made a few steps further than the ancients ; but how many more they still have to make ! " But his faith in the future development of science, which is implicit in the last sentence, has been justified, as Luppol points out, by the progress of science in the last hundred years.

It is in his view of Nature that Diderot shows his genius, which often carries him beyond the narrow scientific views of his age. Luppol shows in what relation he stands to his predecessors, to Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz and Maupertuis ; how Diderot finally arrives at the position that there is only one substance in the universe, in man, in animals—matter ; that time, like space, is not a mode of thought as with Descartes and Spinoza, but a form conditioning the existence of matter ; that movement, like extension, is a property of matter ; and that, similarly, matter is capable of sensation, which is

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the initial form of thought. The link between organic and inorganic nature lies in sensibility, active in the one, inactive in the other. One of the great weaknesses of eighteenth century French materialism in its view of nature is the absence of any idea of evolution ; in this respect Diderot stands far above his contemporaries. Without any real scientific basis, he formulated as a pure hypothesis the idea of evolution, and furthermore, the ideas of heredity and of the survival of the fittest.

All the eighteenth-century materialists, when they come to deal with man and society, forsake their materialism for a vague idealism, unaware as they are of the economic basis of history. Diderot is no exception ; like Holbach and Helvetius, his highest conception of the political and social problem is that the present corruption of society is caused by bad legislation, and that if society is to be improved, a change of political régime is necessary. This is the revolutionary principle of the eighteenth century French materialists ; but when we seek in their works for some explanation of their precise aims, or of how this revolution is to be brought about, we find very little. Leaving the social structure untouched, Diderot demands only that the monarchy should be elective, and that a legislative body be set up, consisting not only of representatives of the nobility and of the clergy, as in the States-General, but also of representatives of " the people, of the cultivators, of the inhabitants of the towns and country, of the manufacturers, in a word, of the most numerous, the most hard-working, the most useful section of society." In this Diderot is the representative of the Third Estate, whose claims to power were becoming more and more insistent, but still remained vague and unclarified. He is much more representative of it than, say, Holbach, who wished to restrict the franchise to those owning and cultivating land, which would, of course, have excluded those members of the middle-classes who had not yet grown rich enough to acquire land.

Luppol's last chapter is concerned with Diderot's views on æsthetics, and their connection with his materialist view of the universe. This connection comes out in Diderot's reaction against the old " aristocratic " art, that of Boucher, for instance, and his insistence on the reproduction of nature as the object of art. While not sacrificing form to content, he favours as the subjects of painting scenes illustrating middle-class family life and its virtues. It would have been interesting to see here a much fuller discussion of Diderot's views on domestic drama, which forms a close parallel with the paintings of Greuze and Chardin, in the growth of a specifically middle-class art in eighteenth century France.

A question which perhaps requires further elucidation is that of Diderot's relations to the middle-classes, of how far he is their representative, or of what sections of society he speaks for. He is certainly much more representative of the middle classes than either Helvetius or Holbach, who both belonged to the financial aristocracy. Many of Diderot's most important works did not appear until after the Revolution ; those which did appear had a relatively small circulation. Diderot was known during his life-time above all as the editor of the " Encyclopædia," which was, of course, produced by people of the most diverse views and was forced by the censorship to keep to fairly orthodox standards, or to disguise its true opinions. The " Encyclopædia " must obviously, because of its cost, have been read largely by the wealthier middle class and by the more " enlightened " members of the nobility, although, of course, not exclusively so. That the materialism of Diderot, Holbach and Helvetius could ever become a popular doctrine, was obviously impossible.

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In fact, under Robespierre, it was definitely looked upon as reactionary; Robespierre had the bust of Helvetius at the Jacobin Club destroyed, because he considered that Helvetius would have been on the side of the enemies of the people. It seems fairly clear that eighteenth century French Materialism was the doctrine of a small group of intellectuals, associated politically with the wealthier middle class and certain "enlightened" members of the nobility who, while revolutionary in the pre-revolutionary period, would have been horrified by the course taken by the French Revolution.

The account of Diderot's philosophy given by Luppol is admirable, particularly the sections dealing with his theory of knowledge and his philosophy of Nature, which show clearly for the first time, in spite of the difficulties presented by Diderot's method of writing, the place of Diderot in the development of modern materialism, and his great originality. All those interested in Eighteenth century French Materialism will look forward to the appearance in this series of the second work on Diderot, and of the works on Helvetius, Holbach and the Encyclopædists.

J. LOUGH.

A NEW LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

Towards a New League of Nations. By H. N. Brailsford. New Statesman, pp. 64. 6d.

THE lively discussion in the British press on the future of the League of Nations reflects to a considerable extent the instability and uncertainty of British foreign policy which, at this stage, is hesitating between the alternatives of support for the system of collective security or return to the old system of balance of power and bilateral alliances.

To this discussion, H. N. Brailsford's pamphlet "Towards a New League," is a useful contribution. The author is particularly qualified to draw the balance of the post-war history of the League because he wrote one of the best books in support of the idea of a League of Nations before the end of the last war, and has consistently championed the League idea ever since.

His pamphlet starts from the problem of European security raised by the Italian conquest of Abyssinia, but it rightly points out that the Abyssinian affair is too narrow a foundation on which to base a conclusion, and that "we can hope to eliminate irrelevant factors only in a much wider survey." Accordingly, in the course of 40 pages he gives us a summary of sixteen years of the history of the League of Nations. This summary constitutes the main body of the pamphlet and is a model of concise statement.

What is the conclusion at which he arrives? He declares that at the end of it "one overwhelming impression predominates." Continuing, he says:

> This chapter of history would have been in no essential different if the League had never existed. The springs of movement, the starting-points of change, were never at Geneva. The League originated nothing and it controlled nothing. It was a superfluity, a functionless fifth wheel on the chariot of history that spun ineffective in the air. When it tried to originate or to control, in all major matters it failed. What it did achieve in the political field was well within the scope of such international machinery as existed before the war.

This strongly-worded conclusion is a sign not only of the author's but of the general disappointment in England in the League of Nations. Brailsford correctly notes the impotence of the League in the face of the welter of problems arising from the peace treaties and especially in the face of the economic anarchy which marked the whole post-war period. But when he enquires why the League was so ineffective, he answers surprisingly that "the chief thing that went wrong in the latter part of our period was that democratic public opinion ceased to function over the greater part of Europe."

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At the same time he states very clearly the inherent defect of the League itself, viz., that it contains "no new cosmopolitan source of movement," its representatives being "agents of their national sovereign states." Consequently, he arrives at the fact that the root problem turns on the distribution of power and on the economic resources that feed it.

It is interesting to note that Lord Lothian, in a recent series of articles in the *Observer*, has stated in even stronger terms that the absence of federal power is the fatal defect of the League. Lord Lothian points out that the League "leaves unimpaired the complete national sovereignty of its members," and that it was precisely this defect which destroyed the American Confederation of States in the 18th century after they had thrown off British authority. Hence, his conclusion is that "the League has made no change in the anarchy of nations. It has only camouflaged it by a contract which there is no sovereignty to enforce."

Lord Lothian deduces that it is therefore inevitable that "under the League system morality is steadily giving place to expediency, open diplomacy to secret understanding, and right to might." That is to say, he rejects the collective system altogether.

On the other hand, H. N. Brailsford, although he rejects the idea of an international police force as having "the simplicity without the charm of 18th century philosophy," because he sees that "not all the tanks and bombers in creation would avail to keep the peace—not if Geneva controlled them all—while the economic anarchy that has cursed mankind through these 16 years continued to prevail," nevertheless has a way out through a peace plan of his own.

While being so pessimistic as to the actual possibilities of the existing League of Nations as an instrument for peace, he jumps to the other extreme in proposing that an inner basis inside the League could be created for an effective League of Nations by a people's front of states which will agree to all the things which he has explained are impossible for the states belonging to the League of Nations as a whole to agree to. He proposes that the minimum basis for his inner League shall be a group of European states pledging themselves to mutual defence against any aggressor, agreeing to co-ordinate their defence forces, to internationalise their dependent colonies and to create a permanent staff for economic planning which, among other things, shall devise measures for a common monetary policy and international control of raw materials and foodstuffs. How this minimum basis is to be secured under exisiting conditions of capitalist anarchy and conflict of national sovereign states he does not explain.

C. P. D.

WHOSE LAW?

Justice in a Depressed Area. By Charles Muir. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. pp. 216. 6s.

A SHORT time ago I sat in a Police Court in South Wales and three young men, who were described as unemployed miners, were charged with stealing coal to the value of a few shillings or pence and, after the usual painstaking enquiry, which is characteristic of what is appropriately called a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, they were sentenced to imprisonment; later I saw them at the local railway station being taken in handcuffs to Cardiff prison. This seemed to me to be a picture of Justice in a Depressed Area, and perhaps this review might finish with this story. The author, however, does not look upon this question in the light in which I saw the ironic picture of unemployed miners being punished for stealing coal. He is a barrister, a W.E.A. tutor and a chairman of a Court of Referees. He seems to think that Justice in depressed areas is fundamentally different from that in other areas; if he had thought that there was more of it dispensed in such areas he might have been right.

There is in the book a good deal of perfectly valid criticism of our legal machinery. The author gives instances to prove the

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expense, the delay and the stupidity of our legal system in dealing with the working class, *e.g.*, in Workmen's Compensation cases. He does not appear to recognise the fundamental class system of justice which inevitably prevails in any class society. He has not seen British justice at its best as it was, for instance, in the General Strike.

Those who believe that our legal system is capable of reform will take hope from this book; let them listen to this: "Among the thousands of highly trained artisans on Tyneside there are many who could and would attempt to found new industries were it not for official despotism and the uncertainty of the Law." At a later stage he discusses the inequalities of the Unemployment Insurance Acts and evidently is terribly concerned at the manner in which thrift is discouraged; "the foundation of new industries by the artisan class is definitely prevented by the advantages which are held out to men who do not try to keep themselves." This and other similar statements demonstrate that the writer has not begun to understand what are the roots from which spring many of the evils which he describes.

It would, however, be unfair to suggest that this book is all foolish. The author calls attention to many scandals as a result of which our legal system oppresses the working class. He says "The Police Court system is the most autocratic and variable of all the English judicial processes and while occasionally it reaches fairly high standards it not unfrequently falls to a level at which it ceases to be a judicial process at all." Those who are not acquainted with the workings of our legal system would do well to read this book. They must not expect anything fundamental. The author is recommended to read Marx and then, in so far as the law allows, he could write a much better book on this topic.

W. H. T.

A MARCHERS' NOVEL.

Major Operation. By James Barke. Collins. 8s. 6d.

IT is not often that the LABOUR MONTHLY reviews novels, but then, it is not often that such a book as *Major Operation* is published. The evolution of Barke is interesting to watch. From his first book, *The World His Pillow*, sarcastically dubbed by the Press as "A Highland Marxist comes to town," Barke has steadily been finding his way towards Marxism-Leninism, and *Major Operation* shows the strides he has made in this direction. Here is one author who draws the necessary conclusions, chooses his side, and with, as John McLean used to say, "his conscience squared with his intellect," wades in to do battle. *Major Operation* is a Glasgow story with a faint touch of the Highland in it. Its peculiar salty humour is Glasgow, its characters are Glasgow, and its rebellious challenge to "things as they are" is also Glasgow. Yet it is a book which will appeal, and ought to be on the library shelf of every Labour man in Britain.

The story of the book is the story of the stress and strain caused by the great Depression of 1930 upon the lives of various people. One, McKelvie, the leading character, it turns from a non-interested shipyard dock worker into an unemployed leader. One, Anderson, a middle class coal merchant, it leaves poverty-stricken, his wife running away with his best friend. McKelvie and Anderson are brought together in a ward for stomach cases in one of Glasgow's large hospitals. Here, while waiting for their operation, and while convalescing, discussions and arguments take place, and the middle class coalowner finds all his accepted tenets of faith shattered and smashed by the arguments of McKelvie. He finds, also, a new outlook upon the world, in the shape of the struggle of the working class.

Incidentally, some of the hospital scenes are described with great power and realism. The visit of the house surgeon on his daily

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round is a gem of description. The arguments and differences of the various patients is Clydeside, poly-faceted Clydeside to the life. In the hospital, also, is the tough Glasgow bookie's runner, whose philosophy of life, often expressed with considerable force, is that of "sufficient unto the day . . ." The reviewers in some papers may attempt to dismiss these discussions as propaganda, but this dismissal is the tact recognition of the inability to deal with the arguments. Out of hospital the intermixing and intermingling of the two lives, McKelvie and Anderson, continue, leading up to the penultimate scenes when the ex-middle class coal merchant comes over, lock, stock and barrel, to the proletarian viewpoint and, indeed, saves McKelvie's life in a police baton charge. The coal merchant had not only a major operation upon his stomach, but McKelvie had performed a major operation upon his mind.

The description of the tremendous Hunger March in Glasgow, the absolutely steel-sharp etching of these unemployed demonstrations, is something that will live. The descriptions of the Hunger March are unforgettable.

Barke has got across the very sight and tang of this Unemployed Fight. Yet, with it all, the curious feature is that events, and men's reactions to events, are the theme of the book. Here are no Carlilean Great Men, Gods of Destiny, flinging their Jovian thunderbolts far and wide, but ordinary men, caught up in the clutch of one of History's mutation periods, each reacting in his own way.

The book is apt. It comes at a time when the Scottish workers are preparing another march on London. Read this book well, and find out what kind of man it is who organises and leads these marches. The whole book, and it is a very long one, is written in a vivid staccato style, reminiscent of John Dos Passos. The characterisation is superb. Glasgow types, Glasgow institutions crowd the pages. Although Barke is a lusty fighter and a keen and vitriolic observer, yet there is a curious humanity running through the book. Even the smug Glasgow business men are drawn sympathetically.

The book marks the entrance, definitely into front-rank of literature, of a new force, and a force of which the working-class movement can look to in the future with the greatest expectations and hope.

AITKEN FERGUSON.

A REAL "FANTASY."

Out of the Night. By H. J. Muller. (A Left Book Club choice.) Gollancz. pp. 160. 4s. 6d.

RECENTLY a bomb has been dropped into the Eugenics camp. This book is part of the explosive. It has been the contention of Eugenists that much physical and mental unfitness could be abolished if the unfit were prevented from breeding. Modern genetic science has undermined much of this position by showing firstly that much "unfitness" is not due to hereditary defect alone, but due, just as much to an environment (often determined by economics in the case of man) which permits a given hereditary composition to develop in an undesirable way. Thus a child with a given genetic endowment might develop a certain form of heart disease if forced to live ill-nourished in a basement; but it would not develop this disease, although it had the same genetic endowment, if it were allowed to live a healthy well-nourished life. Modern genetic science has indeed shown that there are a few rare diseases, the incidence of which could be reduced by prevention of breeding. But because of their rarity they do not touch the fringe of the "unfitness" the eugenists seek to abolish. Modern genetic science also shows that the fact that certain diseases or disabilities are still occurring in some individuals of the population, and have not been eliminated by natural selection, is evidence that this "unfitness" is not due to inheritance from a parent bearing the gene responsible for the disability, but is due to *new mutations*

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occurring. Therefore to prevent the occurrence of these by preventing breeding by bearers of the gene does not solve the problem, since it is a question of new genes arising and not of inheritance, as the source.

So much for genetic science as a critic of the Eugenist position. Now for the attack, launched, independently, by Professor H. J. Muller in the above book, and by Herbert Brewer, in the *Eugenics Review* (July, 1935). Professor Muller turns the attack against the negative Eugenists, who want to prevent the *unfit* (who usually turn out to be the working class and the "superfluous" unemployed) from breeding and proposes a bold *positive* eugenics, namely the control of human reproduction and the use of artificial insemination so that the germ cells with the hereditary endowment of the greatest individuals the human race produces could be used for the reproduction of many descendants.

Often positive eugenic proposals are reactionary in character, success under the present capitalist system being taken as a measure of biological fitness (R. A. Fisher). Many qualities making for commercial success are socially undesirable. Professor Muller demolishes uncompromisingly the reactionary eugenic views which reflect class interests and shows that the positive eugenics which he advocates can only follow on the economic emancipation of the working class. Only after the overthrow of capitalism can a real attack be made on the problem of breeding a finer humanity.

Professor Muller's proposals will not disturb love, marriage and sexual origin any more than do contraceptive methods. Only when the responsibility of creating a new individual is undertaken, the parents would choose on behalf of the child that was to be, that the finest possible heredity on the male side should be made available for it. By the artificial insemination of the prospective mother with seed from exceptionally gifted men, the hereditary endowment of genius of the calibre of Bach,

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JONATHAN KEMP.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Changing Man : The Soviet Education System. Beatrice King. (Gollancz.) pp. 319. 10s. 6d.

War Scandals. "Cameronian" (of *Reynolds*). (Lawrence and Wishart.) pp. 40. 6d.

Economists and the Public. W. H. Hutt. (Cape.) pp. 377. 15s.

The Rise of Man through his Handiwork. David Reisz. (Better Education Association, 7808 Quincly Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.) pp. 36. (No price given.)

The Terror Trap. John Creasy. Melrose. pp. 288. 7s. 6d.

Walls have Mouths. W. F. R. Macartney. (Gollancz.) pp. 440. 10s. 6d.

The Struggle for Peace. Stafford Cripps. (Gollancz.) pp. 287. 7s. 6d.

The Profits of War. R. Lewinsohn. (Routledge.) pp. 304. 10s. 6d.

The Future of the League of Nations. (Royal Inst. of Int. Affairs.) pp. 188. 3s. 6d.

What was his Crime : The Case of Carl von Ossietzky. (Gollancz.) pp. 47. 6d.

Men, Moments and Myself. Lord Snell. (Dent.) 18s.

Major Operation. James Barke. (Collins.) 8s. 6d.

Modern Sociologists : Comte. By F. S. Marvin. pp. 216. *Veblen.* By J. A. Hobson. pp. 227. (Chapman and Hall.) 6s. each.

Staline. H. Barbusse. Edition integrale. (Flammarion.) pp. 87. 2 fr. 50.

Draft Constitution of the Soviet Union. Annotated by Pat Sloan. Introduction by Sidney Webb. (Peace and Friendship Committee with U.S.S.R., 5 Great Ormonde Street.) pp. 79. 2d. (paper); 2s. 6d. (cloth).

Social Care of Motherhood. Prepared for Committee Against Malnutrition. (Lawrence and Wishart.) pp. 28. 2d.

The Soviet Union and the Path to Peace. Lenin, Stalin, Litvinov and others. (Lawrence and Wishart.) pp. 201. 3s. 6d.

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The Financial Appeal

THIS month the drop in the number of donations and the total money received strongly suggests the necessity for every reader to reconsider their available funds and see what is possible to send to the MONTHLY to enable it to continue. For only some £6 1s. 2d. has this month been sent into the Debt Fund, hardly more than filling in the gap between the total of the monthly Guarantee Fund of £17 18s. 7d. and the monthly deficit of £22, thus meaning that very little is over to go towards reducing past debts.

Every reader looking at the subjects dealt with this month and the writers secured by the MONTHLY can but agree that it would be possible to put *an extra copy* of this issue into the hands of any worker or intellectual, even though he or she is only beginning to show an interest in the questions dealt with.

And if that is possible, surely every reader should make every available effort to see that the MONTHLY continues and so broadens the interest of these new readers and of the ever-widening circle that they will bring in.

This month we would like again to draw the attention of readers to the further donations from overseas, *e.g.*, from New Zealand, and from Kenya, and also to the fact that this month's lists contain two most welcome donations from groups of supporters, one in Warrington and the other from one of the most active divisions of the Workers' Circle Friendly Society movement. This latter donation should very well be the means of assisting readers to get down to the job of seeing whether their organisation also would agree to support the MONTHLY.

Readers will, we hope, by next month have done all possible so that we will be able to announce a big increase in both the funds, the Debt Fund—to pay off past debts, the Guarantee Fund—to ensure the MONTHLY's continued existence. Therefore turn overleaf immediately and fill in the form you will find there.

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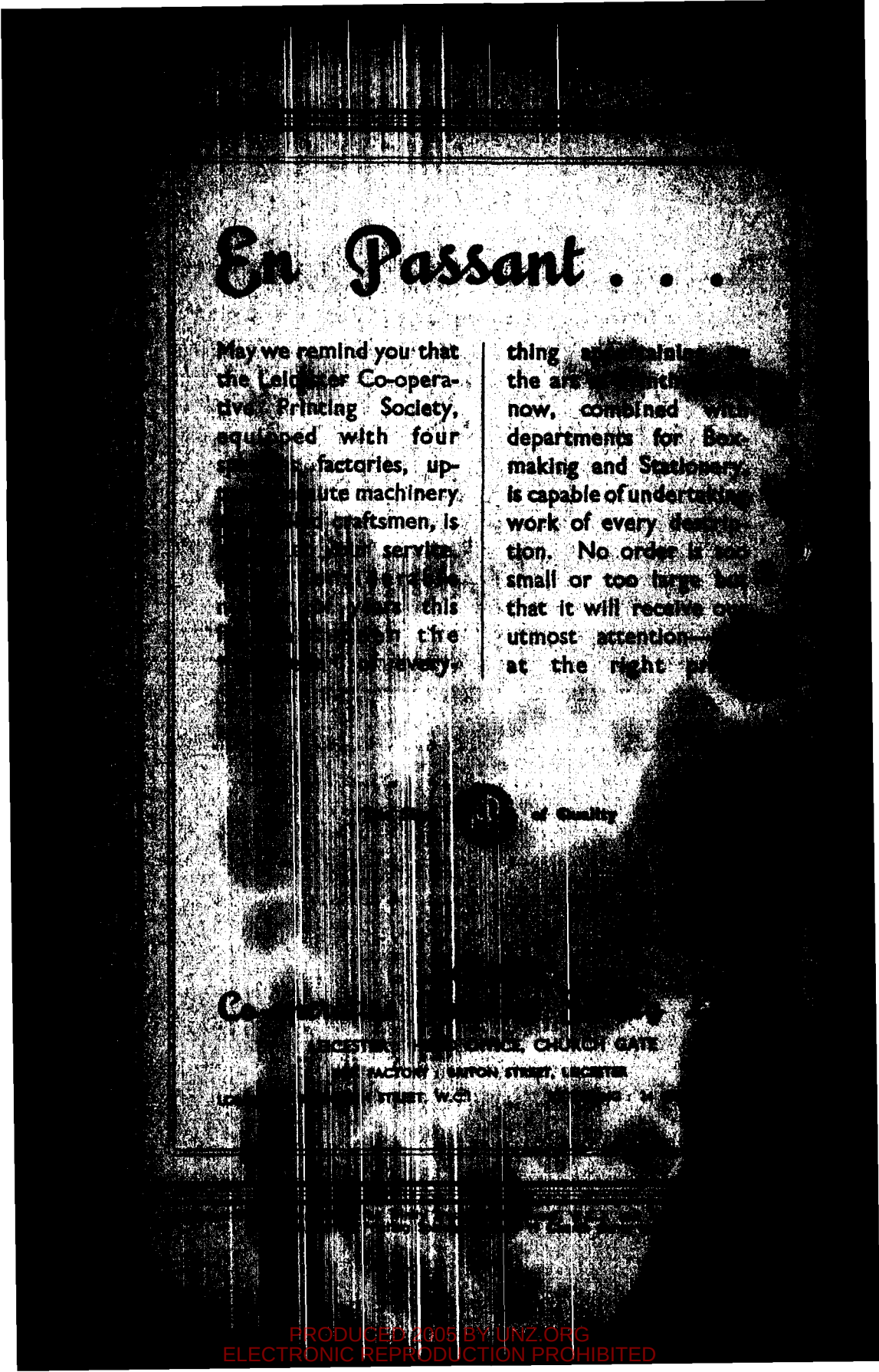

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